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ABSTRACT

This volume contains the following papers: (1) "Linguistics, TESOL, and Bilingual Education: An Overview," by J.E. Alatis; (2) "TESOL: Meeting a Social Need," by M. Galvan; (3) "Bilingual Education, TESL, and Ethnicity in New York State," by E.B. Nyquist; (4) "Control, Initiative, and the Whole Learner," by E.W. Stevick; (5) "Non-verbal Communication in the Classroom: A Frill or a Must?" by C.J. Nine-Curt; (6) "Discourse Analysis at the Intermediate and Advanced Levels of ESL: Language Control through Reading Drills," by A. Hilferty and A. Lezberg; (7) "Teaching Composition at the Beginning Level: A Promising Approach," by R. Rainsbury; (8) "A Capsule Course in ESL Composition for Adults," by G. Gallingane and D.R.H. Byrd; (9) "Assessing Writing Ability of ESL College Freshmen," by D.M. Davidson; (10) "Cottleston, Cottleston, Cottleston Pie: Poetry and Verse for Young Learners of English as a Second Language," by J.A. McConochie; (11) "Hey Teacher! How Come They're Singing in the Other Class?" by A.H. Osman and L. Wellman; (12) "Reaching for the Child in the Adult: Role-playing in Language Learning," by M.E. Hines; (13) "Language Programs for Southeast Asian Students: A Report on New York State," by P.C. DeLany and G.E. Van Hoeft; (14) "Breaking the Rules of the Classroom Game through Self-Analysis," by J.F. Fanselow; (15) "ESL Teachers' Classroom Speech: Support for the L1=L2," by S. Gaies; (16) "Should We Teach Children Syntax?" by H. C. Dulay and M. K. Burt; (17) "Language Learners' Errors: A Russian Example," by R.L. Light; (18) "Language, Ethnic Boundaries, and Bilingual Education," by C.B. Paulston and R.G. Paulston. (AMH)

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COLLECTED PAPERS IN

TEACHING ENGLISH AS A SECOND LANGUAGE AND BILINGUAL EDUCATION:

Themes
Practices
Viewpoints

Edited by
Richard L. Light
Alice H. Osman

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PREFACE

This volume represents another way in which NYS ESOL BEA is attempting to serve the needs and interests of its membership. Our Annual Fall Conferences have come to provide an opportunity for members to exchange ideas both formally and informally, while the regular appearance of *Idiom* has come to be a means of keeping the membership informed and in touch between conferences. Through the work of members at regional levels, specific programs that exist in our state are being identified: to date, two regional directories of English as a second language and bilingual education programs (Westchester County, 1976, and Central New York, 1977) have been published and others (Rochester and New York City) are under way. Since January, 1975, nearly a dozen groups throughout the state have requested and have themselves helped to organize One Day Mini Area Conferences (ODMAC). NYS ESOL BEA has helped to assemble talent for sessions of high quality not only for these but for numerous in-service courses co-sponsored by the New York City Board of Education. This publication, therefore is another step in the natural progression of development—the extension and expansion of services of an organization to its growing membership.

We hope that similar publications will be compiled by others in the future. Presentations of excellence will continue to be made at Annual Fall Conferences, and these need to be shared through the printed record with still wider audiences. Indeed, of the many fine papers gathered between 1973 and 1976, these represent but a part as many could not be included for a simple lack of space. Deciding which to include in the final selection was a difficult process and would have been even more so had it not been for guidance from members of the Editorial Advisory Board who spent many hours reading and deliberating.

Acknowledgement must also be made of others without whose continuing interest this venture would not have been possible. Chief among these are the Officers and Members of NYS ESOL BEA Executive Boards who have served successively from 1973 to the present.

Warmest thanks and appreciation are also extended to TESOL and to James E. Alatis, Executive Secretary of TESOL, for the special role they played in helping to make this publication a reality. Without their support of this effort, *Collected Papers* may well have had to wait still longer to emerge as a finished product.

We are also grateful for the able assistance given the editors in proofreading by Laurie Wellman of the Bureau of Bilingual Education, New York State Education Department, and by Mary K. Sawyer, Michael Wilson, and Robert Wright, all in the TESL Program, SUNY at Albany. Thanks too to Jamie, Lisa and Sally Light for their patience.

In conclusion: a publication of an organization such as ours does not come about, nor does it continue, without persons willing to contribute a variety of talents; without teachers willing to write, others to edit, but beyond that, still others willing to be information gatherers, business managers, and typists. NYS ESOL BEA extends an invitation to its members to begin to cultivate and contribute to the next publication as well as to evaluate the present one.

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CONTENTS

I. BACKGROUND AND THEMES
Introduction *1*

Linguistics, TESOL, and Bilingual Education: An Overview *4*
James E. Alatis

TESOL: Meeting a Social Need *16*
Mary Galvan

Bilingual Education, TESL, and Ethnicity in New York State *25*
Ewald B. Nyquist

Control, Initiative, and the Whole Learner *34*
Earl W. Stevick

Non-Verbal Communication in the Classroom:
A Frill or a Must? *46*
Carmen Judith Nine-Curt

II. PROGRAMS AND PRACTICES
Introduction *55*

Discourse Analysis at the Intermediate and Advanced Levels of ESL: Language Control Through Reading Drills *58*
Ann Hilferty and Amy Lezberg

Teaching Composition at the Beginning Level:
A Promising Approach *69*
Robert Rainsbury

A Capsule Course in ESL Composition for Adults *76*
Gloria Gallingane and Donald R. H. Byrd

Assessing Writing Ability of ESL College Freshmen *86*
David M. Davidson

Cottleston, Cottleston, Cottleston Pie: Poetry and Verse for Young Learners of English as a Second Language *102*
Jean A. McConochie

Hey Teacher! How Come They're Singing in the Other Class? *115*
Alice H. Osman and Laurie Wellman

Reaching for the Child in the Adult: Role-playing in Language Learning *124*
Mary E. Hines

Language Programs for Southeast Asian Students: A Report on New York State *130*
Patricia C. DeLany and Gordon E. Van Hooft

III. INQUIRIES AND VIEWPOINTS
Introduction *142*

Breaking the Rules of the Classroom Game Through Self-Analysis *145*
John F. Fanselow

ESL Teachers' Classroom Speech: Support for the $L_1 = L_2$ *167*
Stephen J. Gaies

Should We Teach Children Syntax? *180*
Heidi C. Dulay and Marina K. Burt

Language Learners' Errors: A Russian Example *194*
Richard L. Light

Language, Ethnic Boundaries, and Bilingual Education *204*
Christina Bratt Paulston and Roland G. Paulston

Evaluation of Community Involvement in Curriculum Development in Bilingual Schools *230*
Norman C. Gold

Reading, Meaning, and the Bilingual Student: Some Suggestions *245*
Richard L. Allington

INTRODUCTION

It seems incumbent upon the writer of an introduction to make some statement about the volume he is introducing — its birth pains, its rationale, its organization. When I was asked whether I would like to write an introduction, it was also suggested that I might like to say something about the place of affiliate publications, such as newsletters or collections of papers, in the affiliate scheme of things. And, in thinking about an invitation to write, one looks wistfully at the chance to say something which one might not otherwise take — or get the chance to say. Perhaps, in introducing this volume, I can attempt all three.

In 1972, Dale Meyers was the First Vice-president of NY TESOL (now NYS ESOL BEA) and had also taken on the responsibility of editing the IDIOM which had had a very sporadic publication record in its two years of existence; perhaps two or three numbers had appeared. Unfortunately for NY TESOL and the IDIOM, Dale Meyers was offered a position at the American University in Beirut and so he took a leave of absence from Teachers College and resigned from the office of First Vice-President.

I had just returned to Teachers College to finish my doctorate and was concerned, as all doctoral candidates are, with protecting my "territory" from other researchers. I wrote to Dale Meyers, who was one of my dissertation advisors, about the possibility of writing an article for the IDIOM, and offering to help put out an issue of the paper while he was away. And so it began. I became more involved in putting out the paper than my dissertation and with the help of Lyn McLean and Barbara Wiener, who had been left in charge of the newsletter correspondence, we got an issue together. And the job of editor which I had assumed was not even confirmed by the Executive Board until after the first issue had been put together, printed and mailed to the membership! But NY TESOL was undergoing a lot of changes, growing pains, if you will, at that point in time: the election of a new president to replace the departing one; the choosing of its

10

first Executive Secretary (a job not clearly defined nor understood); and the growing need to intensify communications between upstaters and city folk, "regular" ESL people and the new "bilingual" ESL people.

That they allowed me to continue as editor, I have no doubt was due in some part to the fact that I was there, willing and that there were other things for the Executive Board to worry about. It was an exciting year for NY TESOL including many things that I would like to think I played some part in promoting and implementing: the writing of a new constitution to provide a stronger organization with better continuity and broader representation of leadership; the moving of the focus of the organization, its membership, its meetings and its mind, out of the environs of New York City and into the state as a whole; and the beginnings of more contact with and dissemination of information to the membership through meetings other than the Annual Fall Conference. We moved, tentatively at first, out of the city that year, to Grossinger's but with the promise of Buffalo for the following year! Mary Francisco DelCuve and I put together the first drafts of a new constitution which would reflect the need for some continuity of leadership and recognize the diversity of the potential membership. NYS ESOL BEA gingerly joined with New York University to sponsor a LARC Conference on reading and planned other mini-meetings for the membership. And the IDIOM grew into a regularly issued publication which provided a tangible sign of professional identity for the membership, and printed not only news, but useful teacher information.

I finally finished my dissertation and took a Visiting Professorship at the University of Puerto Rico. It was hard to leave New York City in the middle of all these exciting beginnings, even though I thought the move temporary. Fortunately, Alice Osman took over the IDIOM and under her it became a nationally recognized publication. I left with one idea still on the drawing board, a collection of papers from the 1973 Annual Fall Conference. We talked about it often, but we were both too busy with other things at the time.

But Alice Osman did not let successive Executive Boards forget the promise of a collection of papers to the membership, and when she turned to Dick Light to provide additional editorial expertise and energy, fortunately he agreed.

Papers from four years of conferences have now come together into a collection. Many papers are here printed that might have otherwise been left to the memory of those attending the various conferences of NYS ESOL BEA. Many have not been included, of course, some because time has a way of getting them printed in other

publications and some because the number of papers grew so large that it became impossible to include them all.

My philosophy, with regard to such publications as this, is basically that they should be compiled with the classroom teacher in mind. I am not unaware of the needs we have in our profession for research and for the publication and dissemination of that research. I believe the *TESOL Quarterly* and other journals, and a growing number of research newsletters, provide a specific outlet for such research. But we have seen many changes in teaching English as a second language over the past ten to fifteen years — drastic changes in some cases, unnecessary changes, from the point of view of some, in others. And we have seen criticism of the classroom teacher, who in our trickle-down system from research and government to the classroom, is the first to be criticized for what is being done and the last to be appraised of what to do, how to implement new "fashions" in the classroom. For example, we have pretty much abandoned behaviorism as the *modus operandi* in language teaching; we are questioning, even dismissing such old stand-bys in aural-oral methodology as mechanical drilling, mimicry-memorization, and pattern practice in general. We are taking a second look at the linguistically based sequencing of language syllabi as the only acceptable format for a text or a class. We are looking beyond language interference as the primary source of classroom errors. We are abandoning the sterile content of beginning materials in favor of vocabulary and culture rich units that reflect meaningful and real communication situations. We are looking to psychology and sociology for a better clearer understanding of the learner, discarding, hopefully for all time, the idea of language replacement and recognizing the humanity of the learner as a complex, sophisticated being who is not an inexperienced unintelligent *tabula rasa*.

And we should be honest about ourselves as teachers — teachers who by-and-large already have a good deal of education and experience. Teachers, who, despite feelings of professional needs and awareness of changes in the field, have families and family obligations, even professional ones, that limit the time available for continuing professional growth and re-processing. I have always felt that teachers are better served by those things they can most easily get at, not week-end or evening classes or summer school, as beneficial as they are, as available as they are, but rather (and more happily) by in-service programs and the publications that arrive so effortlessly at our doorsteps. We like those things that take five minutes to read, that we understand the first time through, that we can use.

Conventions or conferences provide a special outlet for new ideas in any profession. In addition to the presentation of research projects

and papers, our conventions provide the forum for the dissemination and the discussion of teacher oriented and classroom applicable papers and statements. I believe the New York conferences, and more and more the national conventions, reflect this focus. The more "jaded" convention-goers may find much of the "same old thing" being presented, forgetting the steadily growing number of new faces that appear at each succeeding convention. And one may sometimes forget that one of the reasons for changing sites is to allow for a continuingly greater portion of the membership to attend and become involved. For the past three years the national organization has provided us with ON TESOL, collections of papers from the annual conventions. California TESOL has also published collections of papers from its conferences. This New York State collection is the first in what, hopefully, will be a continuing effort to respond to the needs of the NYS ESOL BEA membership, and ESL teachers everywhere, as a source of information about what is happening in ESL and what the teacher can do about it and with it.

NYS ESOL BEA has grown steadily in the past several years, not only in size and sophistication but in the breadth of its interests and offerings as a professional organization. It has moved, however reluctantly at first, full speed out of New York City, still recognizing the City as a continuing and vital source of much that is good and creative in our field, to an ever widening membership up-state and beyond. It has moved to include not only those trailblazing "pull out" teachers and their "English" supervisors of the sixties but bilingual educators, teacher trainers, adult education teachers, and the innovative material makers of the seventies. It has added to the Clelia Belfroms, Dora Pantells and Elsie Wolks, the Mary Finocchiaros and Beryl Baileys, the talents and imaginations of the Mary Hineses and Darlene Larsons, the John Fanselows and the LINCS. We talk now of second language acquisition and bilingual-bicultural education, of the Silent Way and Counseling-Learning, of English for Special Purposes, error analysis, and modular programming. These collections of papers, such as we present here, along with our newsletters and journals, provide the classroom teacher with what seems to me to be the major intrument for helping to ring the death knell for meaningless classroom practices and drawing attention to solutions, suggestions, and alternative approaches to the reality of language learning in the classroom.

It is not enough simply to say to the teacher that some of the things being done in the classroom are just empty motions without providing the why and wherefore to implement the change required. It is not enough to say, for example, that having the student read out loud does not teach reading (because it reinforces word reading), that

it doesn't aid in pronunciation (because the story telling rhythm and intonation are different from ordinary conversational rhythm and intonation), that reading aloud does not aid in comprehension (because it is impossible for the student to relate backwards and forwards to the whole when he is forced to focus on a forward linear progression of words). One needs to help the teacher to clearly understand some of the actual processes that readers *do* utilize in reading, not the least of which is our silent skimming and scanning techniques, which are stimulated by having a reason, a focus to whatever we read, something we are looking for, and that we utilize our ability to guess from context the meaning of much that we read. It is not enough to tell teachers that all those oft used but boring pronunciation drills for segmentals are not as important as we thought they were without providing the understanding that there *are* elements of pronunciation such as stress, intonation, rhythm, vowel reduction and the non-verbal aspects, the communication skills of presenting words and phrases and sentences that are much more important and useful, that we must teach. We need to help remove from the hands of the teacher the book as a gospel and help to provide recognition of it as a resource, a syllabus, a guide — and that the *student* is being taught, not the book. Teachers need to recognize that they are facilitators of learning rather than teachers of absolute sets of information that can be mastered by merely copying them into a notebook. We must move beyond the introductory course in methods in which we are so quick to preach our linguistic justifications for language teaching, to more advanced pedagogical views of teaching and learning. We can begin perhaps with such moral obligations as learning to listen to what the student is saying, eliminating the crutch of translating for the student, recognizing the already sophisticated experience that students bring to us, and that the students need to know not only English but how to move on to other classes and experiences where other skills and other vocabularies and other interrelations are required. I think we have an obligation to provide not only the forum for criticism and discussion but also to provide the tools and sources through which the classroom teacher can obtain understanding of the problems and find success in the application of immediately recognizable classroom practices. This volume is one step in that direction.

John Haskell
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March, 1977

I. BACKGROUND AND THEMES

Introduction

The papers in this first section offer a variety of perspectives on issues of concern to all educators involved in second language teaching and bilingual education. The themes of ethnicity and education, communication across cultures, organizational policy, and classroom dynamics are all addressed by the authors. Many of these concerns have, of course, been discussed elsewhere, as in the anthologies edited by Abrahams and Troike (1972), Alatis and Twaddell (1976), and Fanselow and Crymes (1976). Yet the selections presented here offer fresh perspectives and new insights on these topics.

Two national perspectives on themes of concern to ESOL and bilingual educators are provided by James Alatis and Mary Galvan. James Alatis, Executive Secretary of the TESOL Organization since its inception in 1966, discusses the history, the activities, and the concerns of that organization. He has noted elsewhere (Alatis, 1975) that the interests and the roles of bilingual education and TESOL are entirely compatible and he reiterates that conviction in this paper. Mary Galvan, former president of the TESOL Organization, provides a second national perspective, discussing among other things, the impact of Vietnamese refugees upon the national educational scene. Her paper provides a background to the discussion by DeLany and Van Hooft (in Section II) of the ways in which one state met the challenge of assisting Southeast Asian learners in the public schools.

The next paper, by Ewald Nyquist, addresses issues at the state level concerning TESOL, bilingual education, and cultural pluralism. Leaders in the educational establishment have not always spoken with one voice when discussing questions of assimilation and the melting pot, or bilingualism and the maintenance of cultural pluralism. Leaders such as former U.S. Commissioner of Education Harold Howe have argued in support of cultural pluralism (Howe, 1968) while others have been concerned primarily with processes of cultural assimilation (O'Flannery, 1962). Recently, however, the concept of cultural pluralism has received increasing support, augmented by funding of the Bilingual Education Act. Perhaps no one at the

state level has addressed the issues involved more effectively than the former (1969-1977) New York State Commissioner of Education, Ewald Nyquist, who documents a perceptive and humane response at the state level to the complexities of linguistic and cultural diversity in a vast educational system.

The authors who discuss themes from national and state perspectives are followed by two who discuss topics from the perspective that ultimately must concern all educators — the classroom. Carmen Judith Nine-Curt and Earl Stevick describe aspects of communication that are perhaps too often neglected in the classroom. Interpersonal relationships, affective aspects of language learning, non-verbal communication, and the social dynamics of the classroom are of increasing interest to second language teachers and researchers. Much of this interest can be traced to the works of Curran (1976, 1972), Gattegno (1976, 1972), and writings by Stevick himself (1976). The article by Stevick included here, drawing upon insights from these works and others, suggests a rationale for considering the importance of "control", "initiative" and "the whole learner" in the second language classroom. His suggestions, based on many years of teaching and observing in several parts of the world, are worth the careful attention of all educators who seek new perspectives on their teaching. Just as the issues addressed by Stevick are being increasingly brought to the attention of second language teachers, so, too, interest in the topic considered by Carmen Judith Nine-Curt is growing. Non-verbal communication is being more carefully described by linguists (Birdwhistle, 1970; Key, 1975), and more commonly discussed by second language teachers (Bedford, 1972; Taylor, 1976). The article by Nine-Curt provides persuasive evidence of the consequence of non-verbal communication in second language classroom.

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Linguistics, TESOL, and Bilingual Education: An Overview

James E. Alatis

My talk today is on linguistics, TESOL, bilingualism, and bilingual and bicultural education. It's a history of the ESL profession in the United States and a definition of the field, and it is one that, I believe, *needs* to be defined. As well as talking about TESOL, its past history, present status, future prospects, and the relationship between TESOL and its individual members and its affiliates, I will touch on contributions of linguistics to ESL, and will attempt to clarify the role of ESL in bilingual-bicultural education.

I begin my talks with a definition of terms and I like to play with acronyms. Acronyms are short names, after all, and someone once said, "The beginning of all knowledge is the study of names." The beginning of knowledge in this country, especially if you're in Washington, is the study of acronyms. I should relate to you that not too long ago I was with a group of Chinese linguists and language teachers visiting from mainland China, and I had been given the task of talking to them about professional organizations in this country. Think of the impact of this on people coming from the Peoples' Republic of China, and remember, in Mandarin Chinese they don't have a conventional alphabet as we know it, and at their very first lecture, I talked to them about MLA, ACTFL, NAFSA, NCTE, TESOL, and so on! They were fascinated to know what all these things were, especially in view of the fact that there are no equivalents to professional organizations in mainland China.

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As I go through my acronyms, I like to start with TENES—Teaching English to Non-English Speakers. TENES was the first nation-wide survey of the needs as well as practices, methods and materials used in teaching English to non-native speakers in this country. Harold Allen of the University of Minnesota headed that survey, calling together a representative group of scholars and practitioners in the field for a weekend conference in Chicago in the fall of 1965. The knowledge pulled together in that study served to pinpoint the real need for a professional organization in what was, and continues to be, a growing field.

Then there's TEFL and there's TESL; these *are* different. TEFL stands for teaching English as a foreign language and it relates primarily to the teaching of English to adult foreign students on the American university campus, or to the teaching of English abroad, much as French is taught in this country. TESL has to do with the teaching that's done here on the domestic scene. It's sometimes extended to include the teaching of English in countries such as the Philippines or India, where English is the language of instruction. It's interesting how this developed, and if you think back to the British Empire, this will help you understand; TESL is what is taught in the "Empiah" and TEFL is what's taught everywhere else. So there *is* a distinction, though the two terms are frequently used interchangeably.

There is ATESL, which is the Association for Teachers of English as a Second Language, which is a part of NAFSA, another acronym, the National Association for Foreign Student Affairs. But ATESL wasn't big enough for us, and therefore, in order to combine the concepts of TEFL and TESL, we came up with another acronym: TESOL. TESOL stands both for the organization and for the profession that it represents. As for the pronunciation, it is not surprising that in a group that has to do with language and language variation, there should be a division of opinion as to pronunciation. There are those who say /tiysol/ and those who say /tesol/; I insist it's /tiysol/, and I look to the theory of open check and checked syllables in the historical development of the phonology of the English language, and even low-level transformational rules to support me in that claim. More importantly, I rely upon usage, and since I talk more than most people do, and to more people than most do, my usage is going to be the right one, of course! Edward Anthony of the University of Pittsburgh once suggested that we should pronounce TESOL like this: *T* as in beret, *E* as in make, *S* as in island, *O* as in people, and *L* as in should, and we'd come out with ——— ! This frivolous exercise does serve a purpose, though, as there are people who don't understand the distinctions between TEFL and TESL and TESOL,

and I think it's important that they do. The mere fact that TESOL stands for both the professional organization and the field is important.

We all know that the teaching of English as a second language in this country probably began as far back as the Pilgrim Fathers, and the American Indians were the first people to be taught ESL. If this is so, then we may note an ironic coincidence: we started off with the Indians, and now we're back to teaching English to their children on the Navajo reservation. There is another line of progression which returns us in circular fashion to the native Americans. The anthropological linguists such as Bloomfield, Boas and Sapir began their work with the study of American Indian languages, and eventually made a great contribution to our knowledge about language and its study. Now, in turn, modern linguistics is making its great contribution to the teaching of English as a second language, on Indian reservations and elsewhere.

The beginnings of professionalism go back to shortly after the Second World War when large numbers of foreign students began to come to the United States. William Moulton of Princeton, in an article on trends in linguistics, has suggested that there were two things that distinguished the early days of English as a second language in this country: first, that it was concerned largely with foreign students of the TEFL type, and second, that it was in the hands, even from the beginning, of trained linguists. The interconnection between linguistics and TEFL has contributed to our great professionalism. As I go throughout the country talking to people, I've had to point out that from the very beginning, we've *never* had enough qualified teaching personnel. I emphasize this because I want to attack as vigorously as I can the notion that the mere fact of having learned English at mother's knee, makes one a specialist or qualifies one to teach English as a second language. We do ourselves a great disservice when we accept the idea that anybody off the street can be put into a classroom and expected to teach English as a second language. A lot of youngsters are ruined because untrained people don't have the kind of attitude and the kind of understanding that is required to teach children effectively.

I really like acronyms, so I've created another one: it's my *lapse* acronym: L-A-P-S-E. It's a mnenomic device that I use when people ask me, "What is it you think every TEFL/TESL ought to know? or do? or have? or be trained in? or the courses that he should take?" I don't mean this to be merely course-counting or credit-counting. I mean the kinds of courses and knowledge that can be amassed which truly qualifies a person to be an ESL teacher.

The L in my acronym stands for *linguistics*. Included under that

would be the kind of knowledge that one is exposed to in an introductory course in general linguistics. The thing that's important about this is not so much the individual facts as the attitude towards language, and linguistic change, the distinction between the spoken language and the written language, and the acceptance of all languages and all dialects as important and worthy of study in themselves. This is what we learn: phonetics and phonemics, morphology and syntax. What we have from the linguists is the notion of contrastive analysis, and I want to emphasize that this means a contrastive analysis of the target language *and* the source language—each of them important and worthy of study in its own right. Furthermore, linguists who have advocated contrastive analysis, have never meant it to be applied *merely* to language. They have meant culture as well as language, the contrastive analysis of *both*.

I have an L sub-2 that stands for *language itself*, and that is the language of the student. No TEFL, TESL, or TESOL really does a good job unless he himself has been exposed frequently in a formal way to the study of a foreign language. He'll never appreciate the problems of his students! In some courses that I have conducted for teachers, I have given them modern Greek as a shock language, and it has helped them understand a little bit of the problem of the student as he's faced with all these strange forms, and in the case of modern Greek, a strange alphabet. It makes the teacher a little more sympathetic toward his students and it enables him to better understand the problems of the learner. The teacher comes to realize in a personal way the successes, failures, frustrations, and rewards in language learning, and the experience makes a better human being out of him.

The A in my acronym stands for *anthropology*. I've already alluded to the anthropological approach of early linguists, and I refer here to the notion of cultural anthropology and cultural relativity, the understanding that other peoples' cultures are good and that one must take into account the different learning styles people have as one goes through the procedure of teaching anything.

The P in my acronym stands for *psychology*, and more, *psycholinguistics*. The psycholinguist is one who applies the knowledge from the science of psychology and combines it with knowledge about language and linguistics toward understanding the problems of language acquisition.

The S stands for *sociology* or *sociolinguistics*, which has to do with the notion of social, regional, and functional varieties of the language. In the United States this refers principally, though not exclusively to "Black" English or the English of Appalachian Whites. It also refers to language variety, to linguistic diversity in India,

Africa, and all over the world. It has to do with the "pure" versus "not so pure" languages, such as the puristic language of modern Greek versus the more popular one, or the various dialects, so-called, of Arabic, etc.

The E stands for *education*, which I equate with *pedagogy*. This is what one learns in methodology classes. It includes methods and materials, theory and practice, practice teaching, demonstration, observation, shock language techniques, and the exposure to language laboratories and other technology. It also has to do with educational measurement, testing, and evaluation. At every meeting people ask me, "What tests are available?" You're going to hear this question again with your new bilingual education act. As a matter of fact, it is very appropriate that I should be here talking to you when you have just enacted a new bilingual education act. It has also happened in New York and it's happening in Massachusetts, and we must be ever vigilant that this kind of legislation is not perverted into the uses that previous legislation has been, by which children still are oppressed, one way or the other. You had it in Texas for many years—it was Spanish that was illegal—and now, unless we are vigilant, the pendulum will swing in the other direction and English will be illegal. This type of polarization is unhealthy. We need to be aware of the simplistic generalizations that some of our great but very busy civil servants are thrown into at times, and we need to give them our guidance and support. Also under the E is the problem of reading in English as a second language. We haven't given it as much attention in our profession as it needs. It's a wide open field for any young professional who is interested in delving into relatively virgin territory.

I also have a sub-2 for E; E also stands for *English*, that is, the language itself. And here I speak about the history of the English language and its structure—its morphology, syntax, and phonology—if these have not been covered already in the linguistics courses I talked about earlier. Corresponding to these courses, in a program that's going to be bilingually oriented, I equate their counterparts: the counterpart of history of the English language is the history of the Spanish language; the counterpart of English structure—morphology, syntax and phonology, is Spanish structure—morphology, syntax and phonology. I am assuming that when we talk about a person who is qualified in this field, we are talking about a person who has had either this kind of formal training or who has acquired this kind of knowledge on his own, through experience.

Something else that has distinguished the TESOL profession is that it has been interdisciplinary from its very beginning. No one of the existing professional organizations could cover us. The LSA

(Linguistic Society of America) was not particularly concerned with practical teaching matters. The NCTE (National Council of Teachers of English) was concerned with teaching English as a native language. NAFSA gave us a home for awhile as a small section, and we were given some recognition and occasionally a few hundred dollars with which to bring some people together. However, we had no professional journal, newsletter, nor conference of our own. The MLA (Modern Language Association) was for foreign language teachers, and CAL (Center for Applied Linguistics) was not a membership organization. The ASHA (American Speech and Hearing Association was more concerned with pathological aspects of speech production, and often even labeled the kinds of things that we are interested in as pathologically or physiologically based, to the great denigration of everything that we have to say. Hence, we have the new organization: TESOL. For three years we were an *ad hoc* roving conference: one in Tuscon, another in San Diego, and a third in New York. It was there at the New York Conference in 1966 that we adopted a constitution and by-laws, elected officers, and became an organization. According to the needs of the nation, the organization has grown. In addition to ESL and EFL, it has come to embrace ABE (Adult Basic Education), where it really began in such large cities as New York, with immigrants studying EFL in a Hyman Kaplan type of classroom situation. On the university level there is the study of applied linguistics, under which we have included English as a second language, which differentiates between the instrumental approach and the integrative approach. The integrative approach deals with the motivation of a person, the instrumental with learning ESL as a tool—for example, as a means to getting a better job. The integrative approach means really believing that the culture and the people in it are worth emulating and being with. And, of course, there is bilingual education and bilingual-bicultural education with which we have been concerned from the beginning. You can see this in our organizational development, through our quarterlies, newsletters, and convention programs. All of these are embraced under the phrase, "the domains of TESOL", which Betty Wallace Robinett has written about in the *TESOL Quarterly*, (6:3. 1972). Finally, there is SESOLD, which stands for Standard English as a Second Dialect. That Special Interest Group within TESOL has been a rather small one, but it has prospered and grown under the dynamic and steady leadership of the various chairpersons.

I want to return, though, to the question of bilingualism because it's an important matter: TESOL and bilingualism. With the recent resurgence in governmental interest and activity in bilingual education, I am often asked, "Does TESOL have a role in bilingual educa-

tion?" and my answer, of course, is "Sure, it does." TESOL has always had a role in bilingual education, whether by TESOL we mean simply the discipline of teaching English to speakers of other languages or the professional organization from whose name the acronym derives. TESOL involves, almost by definition, at least one very important part of bilingual education. (*Bi*lingual, after all, means *two* languages.) And we *are* teachers of speakers of other languages. In the very name of the organization there is recognition of the fact that there are two languages involved. Some people consider the two terms synonymous. Mary Finocchiaro has said that the two desired terminal objectives of TESOL courses are bilingualism and biculturalism. To Mary and other such leaders in the field of ESOL, bilingualism is the name of the game. It's the terminal behavior that the ESOL teachers try to produce in their students.

Now whether, in fact, bilingualism and ESOL are the same can probably be debated. One thing, however, is certain, and that is that the two cannot be separated. Any bilingual education program in the United States must include an effective ESOL component. I don't see how we can escape that. Conversely, any ESOL program that ignores the children's first language is likely to be ineffective. ESOL provides a strategy for teaching standard English to children for whom there is a language barrier to education within the school system. Bilingual education encourages the provision of a transitional or maintained education in the child's language. This maintenance of the mother tongue, in fact, has *never* been discouraged by specialists in the field of English as a second language of the kind that I described earlier. Indeed, it is my thesis that TESOL and bilingual education, if not absolutely synonymous, are certainly and thoroughly compatible.

However, there is an unfortunate polarization which seems to be developing between teachers of English to speakers of other languages and their bilingual education colleagues. The argument, and it has been published in some rather august journals and books, goes something like this. People will say, "It is inconceivable that a person becoming a bilingual with a high degree of proficiency in two languages will fail to absorb some of the *culture* of his second language. However, it must be noted that any method of teaching a second language that stresses only skills, e.g., the *t*eaching of *E*nglish to *s*peakers of *o*ther *l*anguages (TESOL), is not going to produce a bicultural individual." Or again, "When the TESOL movement came into prominence, many people were hopeful that this would alleviate the problem of underachievement . . . " What these people don't understand is that *TESOL is not a method nor a movement.* It *is not* a method any more than linguistic analysis is a

method. TESOL is either the *field* or the *professional organization.*

Another argument often heard is the following. A particular ethnic group will say, "In the beginning you did nothing for us. First, there was the Direct Method, and that prohibited the use of the native language. You ignored us and our language. And then seeing that people didn't know English, you decided that you have to *teach* them properly. And the *method* of teaching English was called TESOL. It is a *method* and it comes out of Washington, D.C., and it's linguistics. Then there needs to be an advance over that because that ignores the students' native language, and so the next stage is bilingual education, and that's *another* method that comes out of somewhere else, maybe Miami, or Texas. Then there's an even *higher* stage and that's bicultural education, and the newest method is bilingual-bicultural education, which is going to supplant what came before which in turn supplanted what came before that." Somehow each one of these got named and labeled and became to be considered a *method*, and so TESOL in that progression is considered thing that preceded bilingual education. Now *it's* out-of-date and has to be replaced by bilingual-bicultural education. I don't know what the next method will be!

An article that I read recently attacked the TESOL *method* because it was teaching English without regard to the language of the learner. But we know this is all wrong; it's simplistic, confusing, abysmally ignorant, and it creates a mischievous polarization that doesn't help any of us. I recently heard that a Canadian colleague who, I know, believes as you and I do, was quoted in a newspaper as saying, "Madame Chatagnier says bilingualism is bad." I asked, "Elaine, what are they saying about you? Now they just said that you don't believe in bilingualism!" It all depends on how you define it. The article had reported on bilingualism in Canada and, specifically, on a piece of legislation which would require all civil servants, even those who had been in their jobs 20 or 30 years, to learn a foreign language in order to keep their jobs. If they were French speaking, they would have to learn English; if English speaking, French; otherwise they'd lose their jobs. Now bilingualism so defined *is* bad, is *evil*! That's what Elaine Chatagnier said and meant when she said bilingualism was bad. But it came out in a newspaper, "Mme. Chatagnier says bilingualism is bad." Thus, if we're not careful about our definitions, we're all going to be bad. We've got to keep our own thinking straight and help to inform the people who make our laws, implement and interpret them.

I am determined to dispel some of these misconceptions that tend to polarize us. We must not lose sight of the fact that among the main characteristics of teaching English as a second language in

this country has been the fact that from its inception it has been inextricably intertwined with the field of linguistics. It is natural, therefore, that following our friends, the linguists, we in the field of English as a second language have placed great importance on the primacy of language—and on spoken language at that. We must remember that the first linguists were alsc anthropologists and that they were also interested in the culture of any language that they might be studying. Furthermore, the linguists contributed to our view of language their *scientific attitude*, which insisted upon the objective observation of the facts of language and began by dispelling the myths, the misconceptions, the prejudices about language which have often been used by bigoted people who were in important positions and used their prejudices to assert their superiority over those less fortunate than themselves. And frequently those less fortunate ones were children. I've seen some things that would make your hair stand on end at some places on the Navajo Reservation where there are people who are *not* TESL/TESL people, who don't know about the LAPSE acronym, and absolutely suppress and oppress these little children. The only thing they have going for them is that they learned English as a native language. They are, therefore, "good", and the children are "bad" and "dumb" because they don't look up at their teachers. You see, these teachers know nothing about the culture of these children, and why they look up or down. It's *respect* that causes these children to cast their eyes down. It's only an Anglo-Saxon idea that it's good to look people in the eye. The same kind of thing happened in Miami for a long time; the notion was that if a child didn't know the language, obviously he was mentally retarded and belonged in a retarded class. That kind of thing is what we with the proper orientation about language try to eliminate—*not* the child's language or culture or self-image.

As I have said before, all languages are worthy of study in and of themselves, and each language is specifically suited to carry on the business of the culture whose vehicle of communication it is.

In view of statements made by Charles Fries, one of our acknowledged leaders, it's somewhat surprising to hear some colleagues in the overall field of language and education accuse teachers of English as a second language of "linguistic imperialism" and "cultural aggressiveness." The same accusations have been made against those who teach English abroad, and they are simply not well-founded. Taking the lead from the linguists, teachers of English as a second language have always held an additive philosophy rather than a replacive philosophy when they have taught English as a second language or a second dialect. That is, they have attempted to add a new register of language to a student's repertoire rather than eradicate or replace

the register which he already possesses. They have hoped to impart to their students the ability to switch codes instinctively, so as to use that language or that dialect which is most appropriate and which evokes the greatest amount of cooperation and the least amount of resistance in a given situation.

Teachers of English as a second language have also been accused of going about their work in a mechanical and unfeeling manner. They're accused of over-emphasizing drills, mimicry, and memorization to the denigration of the cultural, literary, and humanistic aspects of the language they were teaching or to the exclusion of considerations of student motivation and aptitude. This criticism too, is unfair and ill-founded. I believe that the people who make unfounded accusations against the TESOL profession have read neither Fries' writings to begin with, nor the work of recent leaders in ESL, let alone the *TESOL Guidelines*,* and, therefore, do not know the first thing about TESOL. There may be, indeed, a handful of people who teach ESOL, and who are in fact perpetrating the kinds of abuses that the whole profession has been accused of. But these people are not the qualified, trained, experienced and dedicated TESOL experts whom the profession recognizes as leaders in the field. To be a qualified member of the TESOL profession requires a considerable amount of rigorous and highly specialized preparation and experience of the kind I spoke about earlier and summarized in the LAPSE acronym. The *TESOL Guidelines* show that ESL and bilingual-bicultural education are thoroughly compatible. The ESL portion is an essential component of any good bilingual program. The mother tongue and culture are equally essential. What we need is more cooperation between and coalition of TESOL's and specialists in bilingual education who would work together toward a common purpose: to help the thousands of students throughout the United States to reach their full potential as citizens of our increasingly complex and troubled society. Such cooperation will contribute to the solution of our most pressing national problems, the problems of our poverty-stricken minorities and the urban ghettos about which the government keeps talking. We must emphasize *professional* competence and *professional* standards and exert *educational* pressure as opposed to political pressures and polarizations which are so divisive and hence destructive.

* See Charles H. Blatchford. ed. 1977. *Directory of Teacher Preparation Programs in TESOL and Bilingual Education.* Washington, D.C.: TESOL. The "TESOL Guidelines" are reprinted on pp. 117-112.

1977 Update

Since TESOL started in 1966, its individual membership has grown to over 7500! To serve this increased membership, the services of TESOL have also expanded. The *TESOL Newsletter*, which is now published regularly five times a year, contains news from TESOL, affiliates and special interest groups as well as book reviews and short articles of interest in the field. The *TESOL Quarterly*, the only American journal for teachers of English to speakers of other languages, has expanded considerably since the early days, and features articles in all the areas of our interests: in ESL, EFL, teaching English as a second dialect, bilingual education, adult education, and teacher training. Book reviews and annotations of ERIC-TESOL documents are also included. Additional publications of interest to ESL teachers have begun to appear in more recent years through the efforts of the TESOL Publications Committee and the Officers and Executive Committee. The Annual Conventions have been held in every geographical region of the United States and in Puerto Rico, and in the spring of 1978, TESOL will experience its first convention in another country, Mexico City having been selected as the site. Annual conventions have come to mean an opportunity for the membership to experience a person-to-person exchange of classroom ideas, of areas of needed research, of socio-political concerns. In addition, they have provided an opportunity for members of special interest groups and affiliates to compare notes on areas of mutual concern ranging from classroom practices to state certification in ESL. Many members go to the conventions to become acquainted with the materials in the vast displays from both commercial and non-commerical publishers. A TESOL convention is the only annual gathering where one is likely to find so wide a display of materials for ESL students at various levels.

As the ideas and services of TESOL began to be established, they also began to grow, and so did the appetites of groups within states, regions, and other countries: a yearly convention and publications from headquarters were apparently not enough! Regional groups began to meet on their own for exchanges and demonstrations of classroom teaching ideas and newly created teaching materials, and for discussions of problems and concerns at local levels. From the very beginning TESOL made provisions for the establishment of affiliates and now boasts almost two dozen within the United States as well as close to a dozen outside its borders. TESOL has encouraged the involvement and formation of affiliate groups because it realized very early that the strength of TESOL itself would come from its "grass roots" nature. Consequently, a good part of the time of the Executive Secretary and its President each year is spent represent-

ing TESOL at the various affiliate annual conferences to which we are invited. We feel it gives us the opportunity to let affiliates know about TESOL's support of their activities in a personal way, but equally important, coming to you gives us first-hand information about the needs, expectations, accomplishments and concerns at local levels. We congratulate the affiliates, each in turn, for the vitality they display in our mutual and never ceasing struggle better to serve the students placed under us for instructional services!

TESOL: Meeting a Social Need

Mary Galvan

We're having sort of an exciting year in TESOL, and I think much of what we're doing this year is an attempt to find ourselves, to find out what we're about. Possibly a year ago at this time, we would have said we were pretty clear about what we were about. But several things of a social and political nature as well as of an educational nature have happened within the last few months that have caused some of us to sit back and say, well, I wonder, how does that affect TESOL and how do we react to the pressure.

I'd like to take off from that point if I may, and start by saying that, as an educational consultant for the last several months, one of my main responsibilities has been working with the Center of Applied Linguistics on the program to settle Vietnamese refugees in this country. At the Center I've worked with a team; we've been writing all kinds of materials that might help a school administrator or a classroom teacher to help set certain programs in place that will be of assistance to the Vietnamese people. It's been an exciting time to work and we proceeded with the Vietnamese program exactly as you would have recommended, I think. We got into the office several very fine bilingual/bicultural Vietnamese, who gave us a great deal of information about their language and about their culture. And then we've been working with both bilingual principles and ESL principles to try to translate this into schools. We're testing, I think, in working with the Vietnamese, our ability to serve a social issue.

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In other words, this is probably one of the most exciting things — the advent of the Vietnamese — that's happened to those of us who are linguists, or anthropologists or teachers in the field of language teaching. It's tested our ability to take what we know as linguists and as anthropologists, and as teachers, and translate this information to fit the needs of a special group of people that we never worked with before. I'm happy to announce that our skills seem to work. We think we are on the right track. The sad fact is though, that we're doing things now, for a special group of people, that we should have been doing for many other people for a long, long time.

Now let me say at this point that I believe the advent of the Vietnamese refugees into our company, into our country, may be the best thing that ever happened to public education in the United States, for the reason that it has challenged us in our ability to serve. What's sad is that we have not looked at the same sort of ability to serve and opportunity to serve with other minority groups in our country many years before this.

For instance, what have the Vietnamese caused us to do in public education around the country? In the first place, they caused us to ask what the community wants. I wish to heaven that we had asked that of the Puerto Ricans, of the Mexicans, of the native Americans about 150 years ago. What would the community like in the terms of education? The second thing is we're beginning to ask ourselves how we can arrange our school schedule and our curriculum to provide the essentials that the Vietnamese need. How I wish we had asked a long time ago, how we could arrange our school curriculum or our staff or our program to meet the needs of Puerto Ricans, Mexican-Americans, and native Americans. We're asking now what kinds of materials will work best with Vietnamese. I wish many years ago we had asked what kinds of materials would work best with the children we had in school. We are beginning to ask what kind of staff expertise is really best to do the best kind of job for the Vietnamese. We are asking a very critical question which ought to be exceedingly critical to TESOL: we are now asking what the non-specialist in language can do. In other words we are now faced with a situation with the Vietnamese that we have far too few trained ESL specialists to serve the demand, and we are having to turn to elementary teachers and secondary teachers who have no specialized training and test our ability to show them in very quick manner what they can do to assist the Vietnamese. The situation is the same, at least in Texas, with the bilingual programs down there. One of the real cop-outs, as far as I can tell on bilingual education in the state of Texas is the old howl: Oh we would love to do a bilin-

gual program but we just don't have the specialists to do it. Then the same schools who have been unwilling to find out what to do with the non-specialists or to train the non-specialists, suddenly are willing to say, would you come in and show us in a matter of three or four weeks what we could do with the regular classroom teacher to assist in working with the Vietnamese. It is a question we should have challenged ourselves with a long time ago. I think what we stand for in TESOL is perhaps the most humane in all of public education. I think our strategies, our methodologies, our concerns for where children are and where they want to go, and getting them where they want to go, is perhaps the most humane aspect of public education. I'd like to see us reach out to people who never dreamed of working with an organization like TESOL before.

Now let me give you a couple of examples. I've been consulting with the Opaloosah County schools in Florida in the area around Egland Air Force base, a school district that had over 200 Vietnamese children that have just joined their school district, and we are working with a support bilingual program for Vietnamese children there. The children, the target group, are scattered in several dozen schools around the county, some in schools that have as few as three children, some in schools that have as many as 30 or 40. So what we had to do is reach out and talk with several dozen teachers who never dreamed they would find themselves in a position of teaching English as a second language. One of the groups that came in and volunteered to help, were a bunch of speech therapists. They said, look, we're closer to language development than anybody that's ever taught in this school, we understand that speech therapy is not the same thing as ESL, but we think if you could show us what the differences are, and teach us some new strategies, and show us what literature to read, we might be able to serve this particular situation very well. And, I worked with them a little bit, and lo and behold, they are doing a remarkable job. They don't see their role as a pull-out ESL specialist at all. They simply volunteered as teachers to give one hour a day in whatever building they were working with. They give them a little bit of directive information or a little bit of directive instruction, and then they coordinate the rest of the language learning with the elementary teacher who is actually in the classroom with the child. And it is a program that is working without a great deal of training, surprisingly enough. Another beautiful story about the non-specialist is the most exciting group in Opaloosa County. They are a group of high school speech students, five of them, who said they would like to do some peer tutoring with the Vietnamese students in the high school. They would be willing to give an hour a day working with their peers there in the high school.

They sat in on our faculty meetings, and they learned every bit as rapidly as the teachers did. They are an enthusiastic and wonderful group of people. These are people who *can* serve, and we ought to be, I think, as TESOL specialists, assisting in the process of serving.

Another question that the Vietnamese situation in this country is raising is: Is mass teacher education possible? Can we ever train enough teachers in ESL techniques so that they can sufficiently serve the needs that we know exist in the schools? We know how that ought to be done, don't we? I think that every teacher education program in the country ought to include one or more courses designed to teach students who are linguistically and culturally different. I think it ought to be fundamental in teacher education — I don't think it can be ignored with any teacher training program in the country.

The last question that the Vietnamese have caused us to ask, is this: What can we get people to volunteer to do? What can we get them to commit themselves to do? What can we get the administrator to commit his school to do, in the interest of children who come from linguistically and culturally different groups? What can we get parents to do, what can we get peer groups to do, what can we get other colleagues to do? All of those things ought to be part of our consideration.

The second point of concern that I have for TESOL and it is a growing concern, is to face fairly and squarely, the fact that in most instances, ESL, as a skill or a program, does not exist by itself. In fact, most of us wonder if it should exist by itself. *Also, we need to face the fact that there is no Federal program and few state programs which fund ESL ACTIVITIES in the school.* In other words, if we started looking for money to finance ESL activities in the school, in either state or Federal legislation, we come up with practically zero funds and yet, ESL is a part of practically every important piece of Federal legislation that exists. What I am suggesting is that we need to look very carefully at the programs that exist in Federal and state legislation and find out what our role *IS* in these programs and let the administrators of those programs know that we exist and that we are a part of them.

For instance, I've been working this year as a consultant for the U.S. Office of Education, in a program that is called Bilingual Vocational Education Act. Now whoever thought of looking at vocational education for an ESL program? Not a great deal of money, nor as much as there ought to be, but still there is a considerable sum. And all of it based on the predication that there are numbers of citizens of the United States who do not take vocational training because they have inadequate command of English. The answer that was

suggested by the legislation was bilingual vocational education.

One characteristic of all of the twenty projects that I have worked with is their naive approach to ESL. The depth within vocational education was not in bilingual education nor in the language component, at all, and yet that is where a lot of money and a great need exists. Most of the projects were working under the assumption that, in order to fulfill the bilingual component, all you had to do was to go speeding down to Mexico, pick up a whole bunch of vocational materials from Mexico, then come running back to the U.S. and put them in place. Remarkable! Except that, when I was at Mex TESOL I sat in on a meeting and they were saying the real need of ESL in Mexico was not where it was ten years ago, in the upper middle class. The real need in Mexico was for English instruction in the vocational schools. And I asked, why is it that vocational education is offered in English? And they said, because there are no technical materials written in Spanish and we can't find craftsmen who speak Spanish. Our craftsmen speak in English, teach in English and the materials are in English. And the vocational schools all across Mexico are screaming for someone to come in and teach ESL so that they can offer the vocational program.

Now then, another mandate of this particular piece of legislation is that the ESL instruction be tied to the vocational instruction. Every vocational teacher who is going to come into the school to teach vocational education, is also going to have to be a language teacher. This is mandated by the legislation. There isn't time to first write a curriculum, then to go out to train your staff, then open the school. The training has to start the first day the project is funded and it closes twelve months later. Which means that somewhere we have got the opportunity now, the obligation, to sit down with a group of craftsmen, vocational teachers, and actually show them how to put together vocational training and language instruction, at one and the same time. What a challenge!

The second federal program I'd like to mention is Title I, and Migrant Education. That is the largest sum of money in the first place, which means it serves more schools than any other piece of Federal legislation. Now, I understand that in Chicago you have a large input of ESL specialists into Title I. In Texas they ain't never heard of TESOL. The big program in Title I all across this nation is Reading and there is no way we are going to bring across the successful teaching of reading for those children, unless we teach language development, particularly ESL, first. It's absolutely imperative, that we find a role in Title I.

The third piece of legislation involves Title IV and the Lau Technical Assistance Centers that are springing up all over the country.

This whole desegregation business, this whole technical assistance business depends on their understanding of how to serve the linguistically and the culturally diverse. That's what it's all about! But I am afraid that until they find out that we exist, the problems for Title IV and the Lau Centers are going to be largely a matter of administration, of moving people about rather than getting down to the successful education of them.

The fourth program involves all those titles of legislation under Adult Education. The second largest interest group in TESOL is the adult education group. We do participate in the adult education conferences. We are making an input, but in this whole field of basic literacy as well as vocational training for adults, and just simply improving skills that are already there, we do not have as significant a part as we should.

The fifth program of course is Bilingual Education. We find across the country in bilingual education programs the ESL component range from *very good* to *gosh awful*. For instance, I know, that in Texas the political decision was based upon the notion that you either had an ESL program or a bilingual one, and so they decided to keep ESL out of the entire picture. Would you believe that the Texas guidelines for teacher education for bilingual education do not include any component for language development, either first or second language, for the entire state of Texas!

The sixth program that I think we ought to look at, is in General Education — the language development programs. I think that one of the hardest jobs I had with the Texas Educational Agency as Program Director of English Language Arts programs was to talk to teachers about the language development of the linguistically and culturally different students. As far as general education is concerned, we are still an unknown quantity. Why? My assumption is this: teacher training is still producing teachers that are I suppose trained to teach the upper and upper middle class Anglo student. I've got a sneaking suspicion that the sweet young things that come out of those programs come out of school praying to heaven they will never have to teach a child ESL. Really and truly, ESL is the strangest thing in education. It's the thing for the poor kids you don't want to teach. We in ESL know better. We know what the challenge is, we know what the joy is, we know what the pleasure of being in this field is. But most teachers don't know. Somewhere, what we know, the skills we know, the understandings we have, are going to have to permeate general education.

The next program, of course, is Reading. If you could get money for one thing, or if you could mount a campaign for one specific program in the school, I'll guarantee you the program would be

reading. The best reading experts in the country now say that the basis of instruction in reading lies in reading readiness and that with the exception of two skills, that is visual memory and visual discrimination, all of readiness is nothing in the world but language development. We've got a role to play in reading.

The last program I'd like to mention, we have not got within screaming distance of, and we should. And that is the whole program of Special Education. Where we have thousands of children evaluated, placed, diagnosed, prescribed, and taught with instruments and with specialists that don't know a thing in the world about language and certainly not second language teaching. It's as scary as it can be. If we can be known in Special Education, as I think we must be, there is a chance that we could influence such things as the instrumentation by which children are tested, and certainly the materials with which they're trained and we could also get into special education teacher training.

All of these programs are waiting for us, and as far as I know only Bilingual Education has really opened its arms to welcome TESOL. All the rest of the programs are programs that we must, I think, find a way to get into, as a responsible professional organization. Now I think that what we're going to have to do in order to accomplish this, is to begin looking at how we can pool talent, and resources and find out what we can do together that we could never do singly. In connection with this, you will be interested to know that TESOL has—at the direction of the Executive Committee—taken what I think is an extremely exciting direction. Robert Kaplan, who is chairman of the TESOL Committee on Socio-political Concerns, suggested that there were any number of professional organizations that had comparable concerns, had committees very much like our Socio-political Concerns Committee, and he suggested that perhaps it would be appropriate to form a consortium of these organizations to work together toward educational improvement. The Executive Committee directed him to do that, and TESOL hosted the first meeting of the Consortium in Texas. We had representatives from the International Reading Association, the National Council of Teachers of English, the Four C's, Anthropology and Education, the Anthropology Association, the Speech Communication Association, the Bilingual Education Association, and a number of others, and we had a great planning session. The Consortium is now an entity! The group of representatives that came together said that the Consortium should be directed toward getting the members of all those organizations moving in the following three directions.

First, increasing the awareness of the members of each organization of what *could* be done about the socio-political concerns of

children in the schools. Second, increasing the ability to influence what is done in education at all levels, and third, organizing so that we can assist schools in what they're doing. Now that means everything from organized groups that can call on politicians, call on public officials, and say: "These are our concerns. This is what we'd like to see done." It includes being able to get together and organize a consulting service which could serve schools anywhere in the country. I think it's going to be exciting the first time that an ESL specialist, and an English specialist, a reading specialist and an anthropologist go out together to solve problems in Title I. That's the kind of structure we're looking for; that's the kind of thing we need to do. This Consortium is organized and it is functioning, and we're hoping some mighty good things are going to come from it. But I'm going to suggest every chance that we get — every member of TESOL, do two things, -- two simple little things, — and I'd like to see *every* member do it. First, I'd like every TESOL member to call one teacher or one administrator and say, "I am a member of TESOL and I just don't think you know what we can do for you." Get to the teacher who's planning that reading program, get to the administrator that's writing that vocational program, and say, "In TESOL, we know how to do the following things and we would be delighted to assist you in your effort." Second, I'd like to see every TESOL member write one letter or make telephone call to a legislator or other public official. Now, I've already started mine! I've started spending some time in Washington knocking on doors. They now call me "that nuisance Mary." I've discovered it doesn't hurt! I've discovered that people at the U.S. Office of Education, the people on Capitol Hill are frankly delighted to know that some organization like TESOL exists, and I've gotten very glib about going in and saying, "I represent TESOL and look at the things we can do." The political realities of survival for TESOL, certainly survival as well as being able to do what we really need to do, demand contact with people and letting them know that we exist. See TESOL grow as a result! I would like for TESOL to adopt a motto — it comes straight out of television — but just simply feel it very deeply. The motto is "Have skill, will cooperate!" What that means is that we will begin to attend meetings of organizations other than our own — INFILTRATE! Get to those meetings. You don't have to be on a program to testify about what TESOL can do. You can ask the right question. You can get a response to it, or gently, very gently, say, "Well, I may have an answer. Did you see the *TESOL Quarterly*? — There's an article . . . ," — you know how it's done! Find out about and cooperate with the other fellow's work. "Have skill, will cooperate!"

23

Now the emphasis of your program, which I'm delighted with incidentally, is dealing with the whole child. That ought to be also the emphasis of all of TESOL — dealing with education, dealing with the whole child. What that means is that we learn very skillfully to define the needs of a child. I'm as convinced as I can be that in most of public education, the definition of needs assessment is guesswork. I know it is in the field of language — we're guessing at what our needs are rather than finding out what the needs are. And then a second step is marshalling needed resources so that we can serve that child. NCTE has said for many years, that as far as they're concerned, language and communication should be the core of every school program. Language is what *we're* all about. What I hope is that sooner or later, public education is going to see how very wise it is to include TESOL as the core of its program.

Bilingual Education, TESL, and Ethnicity in New York State

Ewald B. Nyquist

I asked Richard Light in advance of this meeting whether he had any suggestions concerning my comments here this morning. He responded by telling me that Maria Ramirez had once said that my speeches reminded her of the story about the United States Senator who once visited an Indian reservation, where he made a fine speech full of promises of better things to come. The Senator began by promising a new era of Indian opportunity, to which the Indians gave a ringing cry of "Hoya, hoya." Encouraged, the Senator went on to promise one more thing after another: better schools, better jobs, better medical care, and so on. And, with each promise, the Indians again shook the air with mighty cries of "Hoya, hoya." Well, as you can imagine, the Senator was so pleased by his reception that he asked to tour the reservation. At one point during the tour, he said to the chief: "I see you have many fine breeds of beef cattle. May I inspect them?" "Certainly, come this way," said the chief. "But be careful not to step in the 'hoya'."

With this in mind, I will limit my remarks to just a few areas of common concern in which the State Education Department and teachers concerned about both bilingual education and the teaching of English as a second language can make things better for our non-English-speaking population by working together in skilled and elegant harmony — or *concinnity*, to use one of my favorite words.

It is a visceral claim with me, a gut assumption, or, if you will, more euphemistically, a deep-seated conviction, that New York be-

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longs out front among all the states in according a lofty place of pride to bilingual and bicultural education. I say this because more people from different countries, speaking different languages, have rubbed shoulders here than in any other part of the nation. And this has been the case ever since early colonial times.

Our tradition of linguistic and cultural diversity goes all the way back to the 17th century, when the original Dutch and Walloon settlers were joined by immigrants from so many other parts of Europe that the colonial governor reported in 1644 that 18 languages were commonly heard in and around New Amsterdam.

Pluralism was therefore sewn into our social fabric from the outset. And yet, as I need hardly remind this audience, we have never been entirely comfortable with it. The zeal to "Americanize" newcomers to our shores has all too often led to majority culture arrogance and minority culture submergence, as demonstrated by this statement made by the New York City Commissioner of Common Schools in 1896:

> I consider it the paramount duty of our public schools, apart from the educational knowledge to be instilled into our pupils, to form American citizens of them, to take up and gather all the heterogeneous elements of this cosmopolitan population, and through the crucible of the public school to fuse and weld them into the homogeneous mass, obliterating from the very earliest moment all the distinguishing foreign characteristics and traits, which the beginners may bring with them, as obstructive, warring, and irritating elements.

Well, I happen to believe as much as anyone that social and political unity is essential and that education must foster it. But any school program that denigrates the language and culture of any non-English-speaking child is pernicious and inherently discriminatory.

In this connection, there continues to be much talk and little clear thinking about what quality integrated education really means. I have my own definition of quality integrated education, and I want to share it with you because bilingual education has a lot to do with achieving it.

Quality integrated education is an education in which the child learns that he or she lives in a multiracial society, in a multiracial world, a world which is largely nonwhite, nondemocratic, non-Christian, and non-English-speaking; a world in which no race and no ethnic group can choose to live apart or be quarantined or be made to live apart, except at the risk of senseless strife. It is an education that teaches the child to judge individuals for what they are rather than for what group they belong to. From this viewpoint, the child learns that differences among people are not as great as similarities, and that difference is a source of richness and value rather than a thing to be feared and denied.

There are, of course, people who would like to homogenize all our differences, thinking young people would then adopt and be bound by the values of a common culture. But this will not happen.

Let me share with you a story that seems especially appropriate for putting things into perspective.

It seems that there was a shipwreck off the coast of Yucatan in which 100 sailors drowned. The story goes that a Mexican sailor who spoke no English cried out in Spanish, "Oh Virgin of Guadalupe, help me, save me." Suddenly the clouds parted, the Virgin appeared and said in Spanish, "My son, you will be saved," and lo and behold a huge raft appeared. The Mexican sailor held on to it and was saved. A Yankee sailor struggling desperately in the water heard the Mexican and saw him saved. So he too cried out, but in English, "Oh Virgin of Guadalupe, help me, save me." The clouds burst apart, the Virgin appeared, smiled, and said to him in Spanish, "I am sorry, my son, I don't speak English." Whereupon the Yankee sailor drowned.

For years many non-English-speaking students floundered in the sea of education. When teachers spoke to them only in English, the youngsters would drown educationally and be doomed in their educational pursuits.

Such inequity in education has long been one of my major concerns. When I first became Commissioner of Education, New York State law allowed instruction only in English. It was through my direct personal intervention that the law was changed. Later I saw to it that the three-year minimum placement upon bilingual instruction was extended to six years upon my approval. In 1971 I declared bilingual education one of the three State priorities for the use of Urban Education and the Title I funds. I strongly urged districts to use their own funds in combination with State and Federal funds to provide quality education in order to meet the very special needs of our non-English-speaking students. I am pleased to say that in 1972 we were the first State in the nation to develop a statement of policy and proposed action in the Regents Position Paper on Bilingual Education. In that paper the Regents state:

"A fundamental tenet of bilingual education is that a person living in a socity whose language and culture differ from his own must be equipped to participate meaningfully in the mainstream of that society. It should not be necessary for him to sacrifice his rich native language and culture to achieve such participation. Rather, we should utilize available language skills and thought processes to foster intellectual development while developing English language proficiency. The purpose of this Position Paper is to direct concerted and effective action toward achieving this end."

I am firmly convinced that bilingual education is the key that

will open the door to future opportunities for children whose linguistic and cultural backgrounds differ from those in the mainstream. In order to serve best the needs of such students, we created a position of Coordinator of Bilingual Education and expanded the Bilingual Education Unit, which will, by the end of November, number 18 professionals and 6 clericals based regionally in New York State. In an attempt to implement a State plan for bilingual education and to seek direction from bilingual and English as a second language educators, I formed a Commissioner's Advisory Council on bilingual education. The council is composed of 24 members and a student-at-large, representing a broad cross-section of regions, languages, and educational levels of expertise. The Council has been extemely helpful to the Department in matters concerning non-English-speaking students and adults. As a matter of fact, I will be meeting with the Council on Monday. Should you wish to bring your concerns to my attention, please notify one of the Council members.

I have for the past two years asked the Legislature to increase State funds for bilingual education and to pass laws that require districts to provide bilingual services for eligible students. This year the Department's mandatory bill passed by one vote in the Senate. However, it was never placed on the Assembly calendar. The Department will, therefore, need your support when we once again present our bilingual mandatory bill to the State Legislature. While we have been successful in obtaining some funds, the amount is insufficient in light of the needs. However, the priority based on the use of funds for students with special educational needs under Chapter 241 and the priority in Title I help to alleviate the pressing needs of our students. We presently spend approximately $21 million of combined Title I and Chapter 241 funds on bilingual and ESL services. Under Chapter 720 of the Laws of 1973, the Legislature has appropriated $1.6 million annually for bilingual projects. Under these funds districts are required to develop comprehensive plans for bilingual education across funding sources. If, for example, a district receives funding from five or six sources, our priority is to insure that these funds are well coordinated to provide instructional and non-instructional bilingual services. Too many children, due to the nature of the funding sources, receive pieces of programs rather than a total education. I therefore urge all of you who design programs to join me in a drive towards comprehensive and effective planning to meet the educational needs of non-English-speaking students at all levels in New York State. If these needs are to be met, significant attitudinal changes must be made.

Title VII funds have provided a major boost in implementing our bilingual priority. Presently, there are approximately 80 programs

throughout the State amounting to $13 million. Under separate authorization of PL 93-380, the Department has awarded a contract to offer technical assistance to those involved in these programs and to monitor all such programs at the elementary, secondary, and higher education levels, including special centers. You will soon be receiving notice of monitoring procedures from the Bilingual Education Unit.

Through our special projects, we have developed a variety of teacher resource units. Many of you are familiar with the latest publication, *Puerto Rican Teacher Resource Units.* The series for teachers of Haitian, Cuban and Chinese students are being developed and should be available for dissemination by January. I am informed that other publications are planned for teachers of Greek and Italian students. The science project which was developed in Spanish and English for use in kindergarten to grade 3 had been field-tested and will be disseminated statewide. The science packets contain a teachers resource manual, science objectives based on accepted city, State and national curriculums, activities designed to meet those objectives, and a pool of test items teachers can draw upon to measure whether or not the objectives have been met. A similar project dealing with cross-cultural social education from kindergarten through the third grade is also being developed. And, since language assessment is crucial to the bilingual education priority, the Department has developed a language assessment instrument which is scheduled for pilot testing in September of 1977.

The projects that I have just described to you were undertaken as part of the Regents State Plan for Bilingual Education which was endorsed in January of 1973. We have not been as successful in the area of mandating bilingual education and will therefore be relying on your support of the proposed Department bills. A major concern to the Department has been not only to provide a total bilingual education program for every eligible child, but also to ensure that the teacher charged with the responsibility of providing those services will be trained. Therefore, our Unit of Bilingual Education and our Division of Teacher Education and Certification work very closely within the Department and with projects at the elementary, secondary and postsecondary levels. You might be interested to know that our most recent statewide survey identified 533,937 eligible students in 28 counties and 152 target distructs. The challenge that faces us, therefore, is awesome but not, contrary to Pogo, an insurmountable opportunity.

Now that I have given you some indication of bilingual education in New York State in light of students, I would also like to focus on the needs of teachers and teacher preparation institutions.

Last April our Advisory Board on Teacher Education, Certifica-

tion and Practice met with my Advisory Council on Bilingual Education. After the joint discussions, the Teacher Education and Certification Advisory Board passed a strong resolution that the Department move forward in improving the preparation of persons working with children whose primary language is other than English. The Board recommended that we work toward bilingual teacher certification. Unfortunately, as that meeting was taking place, drastic cuts in State personnel were ordered. So we are not able to move ahead as fast as we want to. However, we have been fortunate in receiving a Title VII grant to assist us in this effort. Through this grant we hope to strengthen the bilingual higher education consortia that has been cooperating with the Department and the State University Bilingual Masters program here in Albany. In February of this year, the Department was host for a 2½-day conference for institutions of higher education designed to get direction from them towards the establishment of State guidelines for bilingual teacher education programs and bilingual certification. The participation and response to our request for assistance of those who attended, despite the heavy snow storm, were extremely helpful to the Department in setting objectives for bilingual teacher education programs. I am grateful. Since this is an area that deals with such a variety of linguistic and cultural implications, your guidance is extremely important to us.

As you no doubt know, the Regents adopted in 1972 a policy for the improvement of teacher education which declared that programs of preparation for teachers should make explicit the skills, knowledge, and attitudes needed by teachers to work in the schools, and should involve school personnel in program development. Colleges, schools, and their professional staffs, on the whole, responded positively to the Regents call to join in reshaping teacher education programs. Because the 1972 plan stated that certification should be based on demonstrated competence, the Department's activities were labeled "competency-based teacher education."

CBTE in New York means that in submitting a program for registration, a college or university must:

1. Provide for a collaborative effort between schools and colleges in the planning, development, implementation and evaluation of programs of teacher preparation;
2. Make public and explicit a statement of the skills, knowledge and attitudes expected of teachers-in-preparation;
3. Have available a statement of the specific ways in which the attainment of these expectations will be assessed; and
4. Produce a plan by which this assessment will be used to modify the preparatory program.

The task of preparing persons to serve children from a wide

variety of non-English backgrounds and cultures is not an easy one. I am concerned that while we are looking at the needs of children of limited English-speaking ability, we may have ignored the needs of teachers of limited bilingual ability. Teachers of bilingual education must know how to deal with bilingual instruction and the development of skills in the students' native language. Teachers must be prepared to teach in and through the child's language. It must be clearly understood that the child's language is a subject to be learned as one learns English as a subject, and a medium of instruction as one uses English for instruction. The Department's bilingual approach to education views the child's native language as the vehicle for teaching and learning. Since we are dealing with bilingualism, English is, of course, essential and plays a key role in the bilingual education process. Therefore, teacher preparatory programs, both in-service and pre-service, must include useful experiences for those prospective teachers who will become bilingual educators in the truest sense.

There are many questions which only those of you in the teaching-learning community can answer. Therefore, I will be seeking advice from organizations such as yours and from my own Advisory Council on Bilingual Education. I understand that your organization is working on these many questions, and I congratulate you for involving yourselves so deeply.

There is another job that I believe your organization can and should consider seriously. The facts regarding the availability of positions in the public schools to new graduates are distressing. There are very few positions becoming vacant each year. The data on staff stability and available positions also point up the critical need for persons presently employed to keep fully up-to-date. In order to overcome weaknesses and enhance strengths, colleges, school districts and professional associations must assume responsibility for ensuring that those in the schools maintain and enhance their ability to work with children in the schools. They must be cognizant of and responsive to the linguistic and cultural needs of the students they serve.

I therefore challenge you as a community of scholars, teachers, resource personnel, parents and community leaders, to develop in your respective areas the necessary means by which functionally related bilingual and ESL in-service education needs are identified and met.

While there are fewer of us to do what is minimally necessary, expectations of what constitutes adequate educational service to children keep rising. I welcome assistance in meeting the challenge.

And I note in this morning's *New York Times* that New York City's Board of Education and Chancellor Anker were found in con-

tempt of Court by Federal Judge Marvin E. Frankel for having "failed steadily and repeatedly to exercise their power" to expedite a bilingual education program for Spanish-speaking students.

In coming to a close, I want you to know that I do not regard the emphasis given to bilingual education in the last several years as a mere passing phenomenon. To the contrary, I believe bilingualism is here to stay. And I assure you that it will remain high on my ladder of educational priorities.

In their book, *Beyond the Melting Pot*, Daniel Patrick Moynihan and Nathan Glazer conclude that ethnic subcultures are remaining far more resilient than Americans ever expected them to and that this nation must, therefore, understand and accommodate what Moynihan and Glazer call "the persisting facts of ethnicity."

Indeed, today, no less than in the past, one culture does influence another.

Maria Ramirez points out a cartoon along these lines. The cartoon shows a mother hen surrounded by her chicks. The chicks keep jabbering, "Peep, peep, peep." The mother hen is totally perplexed and in furor at the acculturation that had occurred to her chicks and declares: "I don't care what they say in Disneyland. In this house we say, 'Pio, pio, pio'."

Maria also suggests, and appropriately so, that America is less of a melting pot than a stew in which each ingredient adds to the flavor but maintains its own identity. Sometimes, of course, the stew boils hot and heavy. During the Bicentennial celebrations last summer I wasn't sure whether we were passing a milestone or a gallstone.

Well, our educational system must recognize the various cultures that are staples in the stew and must see, too, that the contributions of each culture are valued and that the needs of each cultural group are served.

I am convinced that bilingual-bicultural programs do a great deal to bring non-English-speaking children into the educational system of this State in a meaningful way and help them to know they are valued as people with specific strengths and abilities. Moreover, as we expand these programs and improve the quality of them, I am sure the dropout rate will decrease and that more and more youngsters participating in the programs will go on to graduate from high school and enter postsecondary institutions. In short, bilingualism is essential for making sure that non-English-speaking pupils receive the full range of educational opportunities to which they are rightfully entitled as much as any other students.

I have one last story. You don't need this story, but I need to tell it to you. It is about the farmer who entered his mule in the Kentucky Derby one time. An incredulous neighbor asked him why in

the world he ever did it. "I know he can't win," replied the farmer. "But I thought the association would do him some good."

And so it is with me. My association with the New York State English to Speakers of Other Languages and Bilingual Educators Association has done my spirits a lot of good. I am proud to be associated with you.

Control, Initiative, and the Whole Learner

Earl W. Stevick

Distinguished colleagues, other colleagues and friends. It is always a pleasure to speak to a group of teachers of English to speakers of other languages. It is a cliche for me to say this, but it is a special privilege for me because these days I don't have very much contact with this particular profession, which is the profession in which I started out my own language teaching career — before most of you were born — and in which I spent my first 12 or 13 years teaching English to speakers of other languages in a variety of contexts. So it's like coming home, or it's like coming to a place where I can speak with some honesty, and feeling that I belong, in a way in which I wouldn't if I were to speak to other professional meetings. So it's a great pleasure to be here. At the same time, I recognize that what I am doing, and even what I have done in the past when I was teaching English in New York City, was somewhat different from what many of you are doing. Many of you, perhaps most of you, are teaching school age children, whereas I have primarily taught only adults. So this is one difference. I have never taught in a public school system. Many or most of you are teaching in school systems, either on the K-12 or university level. Furthermore, I haven't taught English as a paid occupation for — what is it now — 15 years, and there have been a lot of changes. So I think that you ought to have a certain kind of healthy skepticism about anything that I say.

I've been referred to as a keynote speaker. If you ever watch an orchestra tune up, there's some fellow there with a long thin black thing that he sticks in his mouth and blows a note and then everybody else starts sawing and blowing, and the notes that they make

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are quite different from what that fellow with the little black thing stuck in his mouth makes. Now it would be possible for the tuba player — and in high school I was in fact a tuba player in an orchestra — it would be possible for the tuba player to say to the oboe player, "Look, it's impossible, considering what I have here — this large hunk of brass — how do you expect me to make noises like what you have on your little skinny oboe?" And the same thing can be true for the violins and so on. Now, it's quite true that a tuba cannot make an oboe sound, and it's quite true that somebody teaching elementary school for Spanish speaking children in Rochester cannot make noises like what we have down in the Foreign Service Institute in Washington. But I think that there is something similar between the notes that the oboe makes, and the notes that the tuba makes, so that they can at least communicate meaningfully with each other and that's all I'm trying to do this morning. I will be talking later on about some particular techniques, and it may be that you'll find these techniques are useful. I rather doubt it. That is, I doubt that they'll be directly useful because they're things that have been developed in my context. They're my tuba notes, and here you're playing French horns, or whatever it may be. So I hope that you will bear with me when you see that what I have done is not literally usable in your classrooms. Try to take these specific techniques as merely my attempt to make concrete the ideas that I'm talking about, and then obviously if you want to use the ideas, you'll make your own applications.

I have been referring to ideas. These ideas, in fact, I myself got from some people who don't do anything like what I'm doing. These are ideas that have come, some of them, from people who teach elementary school, not foreign language but elementary school children in what last night we were told not to call disadvantaged parts of Chicago. I know somebody who has used these ideas successfully in teaching children the art of Irish dancing. And one of my friends in the last week or two told me that she had been experimenting with some of these ideas in teaching junior high school mathematics, and she'd been very pleased with the results. So the ideas did not originate with me, and I hope they won't end with me, but I'd like to spend this morning trying to convey them to you.

The sources of the ideas — and I'm not going to give credit as I go along because that would simply be too tedious — I think the person who first opened my eyes to the fact that there was something beyond the conventional kind of teaching was Dr. Gattegno, who, as many of you know, is the originator of the Silent Way. Just last weekend I had a very interesting seminar with him, so that this has been a continual and stimulating relationship. And any of you

who are not familiar with his ideas, I congratulate you that you are in New York State — relatively close to his shop. You may want to avail yourselves of that opportunity. Most of the things that I talk about this morning, however, will not have come directly from that source, but from another source, which is sometimes called Counseling-Learning (C-L). Again, I do not propose to give you an official representation of the views of the people in the field of C-L. I will say that insofar as these ideas work, I give a great deal of credit to the C-L people, but I'm not here as their official spokesman, so whatever is good, you can give credit to them — to Dr. Gattegno and to the C-L people — and whatever doesn't work, you can blame on me. So let's get started with the ideas.

I'm interested in conveying these ideas to you because now for somewhat over a quarter of a century I've been trying to figure out what makes a difference in language teaching. What makes things succeed or fail? And I thought at one time that it was the phonemic principle and that the phonemic principle, the principle of meaningful contrast, was the great flash of insight which was going to revolutionize the language teaching field. But that turned out not to be right. And then I remember thinking that it was the double track tape recorder — and that turned out not to be it either. And then there were the insights of transformational-generative grammar, which seemed to bring great illumination to the field of language teaching. And they did. I'm not knocking these things. Some of you are laughing, but I take these things seriously! And then I had some ideas of my own, which I won't even mention, which I thought were great at the time, and no, that wasn't it either. And I found that really we were looking in the wrong direction. We were looking on the surface of what was going on, even when you talk about "deep" structure in linguistics, that is a relatively superficial thing. And the problem was that we were looking at the surface of what was going on. We were looking at the cognitive side of things. We were trying to find out how better to teach and we didn't realize that the locus - that's Latin for "where it's at" — we didn't realize that where it's at is in what is going on inside of the learner and among the people. In other words, what was going on inside of, and between people. And this involves the entire person — not just the cognitive faculties. And since I have been basing my teaching and my training of teachers on this assumption, the changes in results — both with the teachers and with our students — have been quite astonishing. Beginning with contact with Dr. Gattegno and going on into C-L, we have obtained — to us — some very very gratifying, very very noticeable changes both in the quantity that is learned, just from a purely linguistic point of view, and also in the relative ease, pleasantness, and

lack of psychosomatic by-products. In all of these respects we're extremely pleased. This has been true particularly since last February and has been resoundingly true in a number of our intensive classes that began last August. So I'm talking to you now in the midst of a very exciting period in my own professional life. If I talk to you a month or two months from now, it will be a little bit different, but I'm really telling you where things are for me right now. So enough of the preamble. What are the ideas?

Well, "language is an arbitrary system of oral symbols." That's what we used to assume was the fundamental fact about language teaching — that language is an arbitrary system of oral symbols or habits or whatever, by means of which people communicate. And we thought at that time that language teaching was a form of applied linguistics.

More recently we've come to talk about motivation and we've said, "Ah, yes, we must remember the motivational aspects and we must distinguish between 'integrative' motivation and 'instru-' mental' motivation, and so on and so forth." Even this is only just beginning to nibble at the iceburg, if you'll pardon the metaphor. I think we really have to get down to something which is more fundamental than we are likely to think about, talk about, or write about in our journals. We have to go back to very very basic assumptions, such as those made by the late Ernest Becker, an anthropologist who wrote a couple of books that I recommend to all language teachers: One of them is *The Denial of Death* and the one that I'm reading right now is an earlier book called *The Birth and Death of Meaning.* The fundamental fact that you get out of him — and I suggest that this is the fundamental fact for language teachers as well as for anybody else — is that each person is or wants to be, is driven to be, compelled to try to be, the center of his own universe. Now that sounds kind of abstruse for a group of language teachers, but this is where you have to start. It's made a great deal of difference to me since I've been starting there. Each person is the center of his own universe, and each person therefore seeks to feel that she or he is of primary value in that universe. But this feeling of being of primary value can come only through feedback from other people that says we are indeed doing what we are supposed to do and that we are indeed the kind of person that we would like to be. But each of us is the center of our own universe, and this leads us to what is a very tangible factor in any social situation, including the present one, certainly in any language class. Since we have, by rough estimate, 150 or so centers of 150 universes in this room, or since in one of our language classes at the Foreign Service Institute we have 7 or 8

centers of 7 or 8 universes, therefore we are dealing with the phenomenon for which I can only right now think of the word "alienation." There's a great deal of alienation in any learning situation, including language classes. Let me just run through quickly with you what kinds of alienation you find. You find alienation because the language is foreign, because it represents a foreign culture, because — we heard about this last night in a very excellent address by Maria Ramirez — the fact that the culture represented by this language does not value my culture and so on. There's that, which to me is the most obvious, but at the same time the least serious form of alienation in a language classroom — the intercultural kind of alienation. There's also the alienation that comes from the fact that I am up here with the monopoly on this microphone, and you know that your role is to sit there quietly until I finish talking, and I'm trying to lay on you some ideas which may or may not be the same ones that you have. That's just the way I feel about the people who get up and speak to *me* and I hope you feel the same way, but there's the alienation of the relatively powerless learner in the grip, in the grasp, of the powerful knower who's going to give grades, who's going to say, "Yes, yes, you're very good," or "No, no, you're not so good." This is a very alienating situation, the power struggle, the power disparity between the knower and the learner in almost any educational, academic setup. There's also the alienation which exists among students. Are we competitors for the position at the top of the class? Do we need the teacher's time and attention, and whatever the other person takes is subtracting from what is available to me? There are all kinds of ways in which there may be alienation between people who are fellow students. And possibly the most important kind of alienation is the alienation between "me" and "myself," so to speak. That is, "I" want to do this but "I" can't get "myself" to do it. So that I'm disapproving of myself; I'm looking over my own shoulder, and hitting myself on the forehead for my mistakes. Have you ever seen that? Have you ever done that? If you're interested in a treatment of that kind of alienation you should read *The Inner Game of Tennis. The Inner Game of Tennis* by Timothy Gallwey is an extremely good book which again I recommend to anyone who's going to be a teacher of anything. It really is intended for tennis players to help them play tennis better. It's quite a serious book, and yet it has a very very good treatment of this alienation between the "me" and the "myself." I recommend it. It's very readable, almost entertaining, not very long, but gives you a very good idea of what is possible and what is not possible in the teaching and learning relationship.

So, given this kind of alienation you then get the student into the

classroom with all of this alienation going on about him and what is he going to have to do? His self-concept is being threatened. He's going to have to defend himself, and how does he defend himself? Well, there are at least, classically, three ways of defending yourself. There's defense by withdrawal. How do students defend themselves by withdrawal? Well, one way is by falling asleep. Another way is by doodling softly on the back of their notebooks. Another way is by lengthening the breaks as much as possible. (That's one reason you people got back here late this morning!) Another way is by finding every excuse to be sick and not be able to come at all. Another way is to daydream. These are all ways of withdrawal. Then there are aggressive kinds of behavior such as doodling fiercely — seriously, there's a difference between soft doodling and fierce doodling — throwing things, destroying the microphone plug in the laboratory, behaving rudely toward the teacher or toward other students. These are all quite standard ways of aggressive behavior, including a slap on the forehead which is an aggression turned against the self. And finally and perhaps most pernicious of all, there's studying like blazes and coming up with the right answers and getting an "A" in the course. You may think "Why is this bad?" It's bad because it produces a kind of imitation learning. Excuse me for the personal reference, but when I was in high school, I took 4 years of Latin. I got straight "A's" and I loved it; I liked the teacher. However, when I got into college and started taking German from somebody that was a real live German, I forgot my Latin within a few weeks and have never remembered it to this day. I was doing this kind of defensive, sham learning that one does in order to do well on tests, avoid the opprobrium of the teacher and fellow students, and so forth. So this is also a dangerous kind of defensive reaction. Now, how do I get away from defensive kinds of reactions?

Let me at this point leave you, alienated as it were, and ask that you hold onto this concept of alienation, and let me go on and start from another direction which will join up with this a little bit later, and talk about three principles which I think are going to improve learning. These are empirical in my own experience. The first principle is that other things being equal, the students learn better when they think that they have a clear idea of what is going on. Now, this may not sound very profound, and in a way it isn't, and in a way it is. I was talking to somebody last night at dinner who was telling me about a teacher who was very well prepared in many ways but wasn't able to plan lessons effectively or keep order in the classroom. Students are not going to learn very well with somebody who merely speaks the language but can't organize things and can't keep things under control. So it's this very simple thing to say that other things

being equal, students learn better when they have a clear idea of what's going on, if things seem to be organized and stable, and so forth. Some teachers don't even get to putting this principle into practice. Many teachers do, but too many teachers also *stop* at this point. Now this means the well-trained, well-disciplined teacher who plans the lesson, comes in, presents it in a cheerful, competent, flexible way — this is what I'm talking about, and this puts a ceiling on learning. Other things being equal, students learn better, but they only learn up to this point, and then this puts a ceiling on learning in terms of two other principles I want to share with you.

The second principle is that, other things being equal, people learn better when what they are studying has considerable meaning for them, not merely that they know lexically what it means, but when it really comes out of their own lives or it really speaks to their lives in much more than just the narrowly language-learning sense. It has meaning for them on many levels; it is something that they can in some way commit themselves to or invest themselves in. Other things being equal, people learn better when they are working with this kind of material. Again, that's not a very surprising thing to say, but let me say it.

The third principle is that if these first two principles have been adhered to — and there is both security and personal involvement — then, other things being equal, people learn better from themselves than from anybody else. And they learn better from their peers than from somebody in the position of a teacher. Well, that may be a little bit new to some of you although I have no reason to think that it hasn't occurred to you. But working with these three principles is what has made such a large difference in our own setting — where I work — in the last few months. But we have here a problem, and this is going to bring me to the title of my address today, which is control and initiative.

We have an apparent conflict among these three principles, between having clear control on the part of the teacher, and allowing people to work on things that they're involved in, invested in, and to learn from each other and from themselves rather than from the teacher. It's all very well to try to develop one of these principles or another or maybe even two of them at the same time, but how can you develop all three of them without their getting in each other's way, without their conflicting with each other? In talking today about control and initiative, I speak to you as somebody who until recently assumed that control and initiative were somehow or other on the same line, and that if you wanted to increase student initiative, you had to decrease teacher control. If you increased teacher control, you decreased student initiative, and it was a matter of try-

ing to find a trade-off, or finding the optimum balance for your particular class between control by the teacher and initiative by the students. Only recently have I come to realize that this is in fact not the case, that these are not on the same line, and that it is possible to have a very high degree of teacher control and at the same time have almost complete student initiative, and this is the reason for the title of what we're talking about this morning.

Allow me to define "control" the way I want to define it and define "initiative" the way I want to define it. I think it will be worthwhile, so let me define these things and then give you a few examples.

"Control": There are really two functions that I see as essential to control. The first function is to set the guidelines, the procedures, all the way from "We do not throw spitballs in this class" to "Now open your book to page 83" or "Now follow these particular steps." And in my own experience in the last few months, I find that I can be very, very strict in setting up and even enforcing procedures. This is part of the control function. This is something that most students feel nervous without, and I have no compunctions at exercising this control function. In a foreign language there's another control function which is also necessary, and that is that the student has to be able to find out how his/her production compares with what native speakers would say or do or understand. Notice, I did not say that you have to *tell* the student; I said the student has to be able to find out how his production lines up with the language as it is properly used. Those are the two essential "control" functions.

"Initiative," on the other hand, is something quite different. "Initiative" means initiating an exchange. It means deciding *what* you're going to say, *who* you're going to say it to, and *when* you're going to say it. For example, — What's the capital of Missouri? You know those classroom conventions. You have about a second and a half to answer before I begin to either call on somebody else or look impatient, or you begin to feel nervous or whatever it may be. In that, you don't have "initiative." By the way, somebody give me the capital of Missouri; can anybody help me on that? (Jefferson City). Thanks! I thought for a minute that I was too far east of the Mississippi! If somebody can choose that they are going to speak, what they're going to say, and who they're going to say it to, and even within a leeway of 5 or 10 seconds, when they're going to say it, then they are exercising this kind of "initiative." And so the teacher can exercise as much "control" as necessary, while the student from the very beginning exercised virtually all the "initiative". I'll give you some examples very shortly. The only thing is that if the student is to be expected to exercise initiative, then the re-

sponse to his initiative must be of a kind which will not punish him for exercising that initiative. And this is one thing that I've gotten very specifically from Counseling-Learning theory — that sometimes the kind of response which we think ordinarily would encourage somebody might in fact discourage them from continuing to take initiative. So, for example, one of the more pernicious things that one can do when a student is taking initiative, in this sense, is to say, "Ah, that's a very good question" or "Ah, you pronounced that perfectly. Very good!" This kind of thing is pernicious, although not as pernicious as saying, "No,no, that's wrong" or "Now you've got a mistake there", "No, say it this way", "You haven't been studying very much, have you?" Praise and criticism both are judgmental, and judgmental response is going to have an inhibiting effect on initiative. I've done this enough in real classes so that it's as real to me as the fact that we have a large glass chandelier in this room here. It's a very, very real phenomenon to me that an evaluative response, whether positive or negative, is going to inhibit student initiative.

Let me give you some examples now, having given you the ideas. Let me give you some examples and remind you that these *are* examples; these are techniques which we have found very, very successful in a number of classes where I work, which may or may not be directly useful in yours. Yesterday I was invited in to try to help some people get started in a new class in Cambodian, using some of these ideas from one of their sessions. So let me tell you how we actually did pronunciation in this particular class. First of all, we invited the students, each student, to suggest one very short sentence in English which could be translated into Cambodian in three words or less. So they did this. Having gotten these sentences, we laid out the first sentence that had three words in it. We laid out three cards. Now this is "control." *I'm* telling them what the procedure is; *I'm* telling them, "Give us these sentences; they have to be fewer than three words," and so forth. *I'm* the one who lays out the cards. I don't know Cambodian, but somebody told me there were three words in the translation. I laid out three blank 3x5 cards. I pointed to the first card and invited people to guess what it corresponds to in English. This is the first word. What does the first Cambodian word correspond to in English? As a matter of fact, the sentence was "I love you" and so someone guessed, "Well, maybe the first word means 'I'." Well, it turned out that that was right, so the person who guessed it correctly got the card, and wrote the English word "I" in one large letter on the card and replaced it and we went on and got the other words. So the cards had never been written on by anybody but the students; it was unnecessary for the

teachers to get in and do that, and it means more to the students themselves, having done it. So then we have the English side of the card. Now getting to the pronunciation. The student can then either point to the card or say the English word and the teacher says back the Cambodian word, which I can't do because I don't know Cambodian, but the teacher says it back in a very matter-of-fact, warm, accepting, but matter-of-fact, way. This is a very important characteristic in this kind of teacher — *warm, accepting, but matter-of-fact* manner. The teacher gives the word and the students are to feel free to repeat the word or not. (In the class I am talking about, sometimes they did, in fact, sometimes they didn't.) And they can continue this as long as they want to. If they repeat the word, the teacher gives no indication whether they were right or wrong, because to say they were wrong would be discouraging. To say they were right would mean to the student, "Well, they said I was right this time. Will they keep on saying that I was right?" No indication as to whether they were right or wrong. Then when students feel ready to, they go into the second stage, which is not to say or point to the English word but to try to say the Cambodian word as well as they can. Again, they get exactly the same thing. They get reflection. Those of you that have had some exposure to Counseling-Learning will recognize this is a "counseling response." They get a counseling response. "As I understand it, what you were saying is so and so," — with no evaluation with "Yes, it was very good," or "No, it wasn't so good." Then the students can go on and practice pronunciation in this way as long as they seem to want to, which is usually a matter of two or three minutes. And at this point, by this time, their pronunciation begins to be quite good. We did this in Cambodian yesterday; we had done it earlier in at least three other languages, so this is not *just* something that happened yesterday. Their pronunciation actually becomes rather good, at least as good as they would have if they had been taught in the usual, "repeat after me" or "now, try to say this word so I can tell you how well you said it" kind of teaching style. So this is an example of the students taking the "initiative." They decide which of these three words they want to try to say. They decide when they want to say it. They get back the reflection, they make the investment, they involve themselves, they commit themselves, at least to the extent of pointing to one of the cards. They get back a warm, sympathetic, understanding but matter-of-fact reflection in terms of the language, and that's all. Yet the teacher has relinquished no "control."

Or, to take a quite different procedure, let's look at learning dialogs. We've done this with considerable success and actually, in one or two cases, spectacular success. In learning dialogs, of course,

the standard procedure is that the teacher opens the book to Lesson 14 and starts reading out the dialog, and the students either have their books open or closed — depending on your convictions. And they repeat after the teacher until they get the pronunciation down, and then they try it on their own, and so forth. The way we do this with the same dialogs, exactly the same dialogs, is that the teacher doesn't even have a book. In fact, we did this one time in which the teacher had never even seen the inside of the book. The students have the dialog — in the native language and the foreign language — and they can either say or read out the native language equivalent or try reading aloud, in this case, the Turkish sentence. And then again they get back a counseling response in a matter-of-fact, sympathetic, warm, but not evaluative repetition of the sentence, as if to say, "I understand what you mean; it's so and so isn't it." And we go through the whole dialog in this way. If we had more time, I could give you the details — it's a rather long and involved procedure, but this is the essence of it. The teacher doesn't even have a book. This is one way of equalizing the power balance. The teacher is in one sense at the mercy of the students because she doesn't know what to say next if they don't tell her. And yet she gives them this kind of reflection.

Let me give you a third and final example. I've seen this done in a number of languages and it's happened to me, both as a learner and as a knower, in the activity called "having free conversation." If you would like to have a Spanish conversation with me during the break, I would love to have you do it because I like to speak Spanish if people will allow me to do it. But if people say, "Yes, yes, you speak Spanish very well, or at least better than I expected you to," or if, on the other hand, they seem uncomfortable at talking to me, in either case I'm going to shut up. But if people seem to be more interested in me and what I'm saying than they are in how I'm saying it, then I can talk Spanish from now until I get my plane tonight. And it really makes a very, very powerful difference. I'm speaking for myself as a speaker of Spanish, and I've also seen this happen with students. You may ask, "Well, in this kind of conversation, how do you correct people?" As a matter of fact, they correct themselves. You simply repeat as you do in a counseling situation. You verbalize, "You're saying so and so," whether they say it right or whether they say it wrong, and in fact, people who are in a language learning situation will very quickly notice the differences between what they say and what the native speaker says and will pick up most, if not all, of the differences.

So these are simply three examples of what I mean by the separation of control and initiative in such a way that the teacher still has

virtually complete control and the students have virtually complete initiative.

So just to bring it back to the theme of the conference — awareness, a whole-person approach to learning — I'm very encouraged that there is so much talk these days about awareness, about a whole-person involvement, about affective sides of foreign language teaching and learning. I'm encouraged that this is the case. What I'm afraid of is that it'll be treated as it was in the article in a recent issue of a language journal as something which we sort of "draw on" or which we "do" or as another ingredient which we "put in" at the beginning or the middle or at the end of the hour. Now this is all very well as far as it goes, and yet again it's nibbling at the corner of the iceberg. Because the whole point of this is that the awareness of the whole person — to go back to the theme of your conference — awareness of the whole person is something which takes place at every moment. And, in fact, it is easier to do this, taking it into account at every moment, than to drag it in at the beginning or the middle or the end of the hour.

People say, "Won't this complicate things, especially in large classes; won't it make things more difficult? Aren't you really trying to act as a psychotherapist for everybody and all that kind of thing?" No! This is not a matter of anything except your own awareness of yourself as a whole person, and of your learners as whole people. It'll simplify things, make it a lot more fun, a lot more productive if it's done on a whole-person, full-time basis.

Non-Verbal Communication in the Classroom: A Frill or a Must?

Carmen Judith Nine-Curt

It is indeed a great pleasure to be here at this time of the year, and to have the opportunity to talk with you about a field which promises to be a very interesting and productive one for teachers of English as a second language: non-verbal communication across cultures in ESOL and bilingual classrooms.

Talking about "culture," it has been quite a culture shock to get used to cold weather again, and if my voice cracks, it is one of the signs of the strain my body is undergoing, trying to switch cultural channels regarding temperature. However, getting used to new experiences in temperature has not been the only source of culture shock as a result of being in the States once again. After 10 years of absence, it shook me out of my normal cultural state of tropical calm and contentment to find that most everything works here to an unprecedented degree of efficiency (if compared to my own culture): telephones work to perfection, trains run on time, airplane tickets are sent to you through the mail, and when they say breakfast at MacDonald's closes at eleven a.m., it does close at eleven.

All these experiences have fascinated me, especially when I project them to our own field of teaching, and see them as examples of how two cultures in contact enrich each other.

ESOL and Bilingual Education make a lot of sense in a country like the United States, which is not a nation of one people, but of many peoples, trying to do what for many is madness and a scandal: trying to live together in peace and mutual respect. This amazing feat of the many and the different trying to live together with

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dignity was basically the daring experiment and dream that the founding fathers of this country had in mind and made a reality when they brought forth this nation.

For a while there, the United States and its peoples seemed to have lost this dream. But I think this country is most decidedly regaining it. Such Congressional Acts as the Bilingual Education Act and the many others that have led to it are proof of this. Many people seem to agree that the new version of the American dream is "to find and experience the new enterprise of living together," as Don Jaime Benitez (1974), former President of the University of Puerto Rico, said at the New York Convention on Bilingual Education. Edward T. Hall, a famed American anthropologist, adds the following:

> (There must be) a rekindling of the adventuresome spirit and excitement of our frontier days . . . We are confronted with urban and cultural frontiers today . . . We need both excitement and ideas and we will discover that both are more apt to be found in people than in things, . . . in involvement rather than in detachment from life. (1966: 187)

Today I would like to discuss with you the relatively new field of non-verbal communication, a field which I feel is rich in its possibilities for making our efforts in ESOL and Bilingual Education more effective in giving our students from so many different cultures better tools for a successful and richer life. I also feel it can give both the English-speaking and non-English-speaking students a clearer vision of themselves and others, which I am sure will lead to better understanding and acceptance of those around.

Let me read this little poem to you, and take you from there into the discussion of proxemics, haptics, kinesics, parakinesics and their inclusion in our teaching. This is a poem by W. H. Auden; taken from *The Birth of Architecture.*

> Some thirty inches from my nose
> The frontier of my Person goes,
> and all the untilled air between
> is private "pagus" or demesne.
> Stranger, unless with bedroom eyes
> I beckon you to fraternize,
> Beware of rudely crossing it;
> I have no gun, but I can spit.

What is the message of the poem? In the field which studies space in interpersonal relationships across cultures, PROXEMICS, the personal (uninvadable, nontransgressible) distance at which you should stand away from somebody else in the United States (Anglos), and in many other northern countries of Europe, is from 18 to 30 inches. Of course, there is also the intimate distance at which people inter-

relate. In the United States, this distance is from skin contact to from 6 to 18 inches. This is culturally determined, learned behavior carried out unconsciously day by day, and it differs from culture to culture. How does space function in Latin American countries and in southern European countries? There, the personal distance is what is intimate distance in the United States, from 6 to 18 inches. Thus, in dealing with Latins, many Americans feel that they want to spit because they find Latins too close, too pushy, and too "sexy." How do the Latins feel when they talk to Americans and see them cringing back to regain—without their knowing, of course—their culturally learned comfortable distance? Well, Americans seem aloof, cold, uninterested, and perhaps even racially or politically prejudiced. Thus is an explosive area of interpersonal relationship. Still, even though it is such a delicate point between these cultures, I have never seen reference to space, or proxemics, incorporated into the instructions for teaching ESL dialogues to our non—English-speaking population, nor in teaching Spanish dialogues to our Anglo population.

Let us now go into HAPTICS, the study of touching. You already know, I am sure, that together with most northern European countries, the United States belongs to the non-contact, non-touching cultures. I remember the strange experience I had on my first day in the United States just a month and a half ago, when I had to sit for about an hour in the lobby of the Law School at Temple University, which was filled with young students. During that hour of constant talking and bantering among the students, there was not a single instance of touching among them. We Latins touch, to a degree that is outrageous, threatening, and oftentimes insulting to most Anglos. However, touching is also a way of "talking" in most Latin countries, Take a normal everyday greeting among Mexicans, Puerto Ricans, Cubans, etc. If you have already met and are friends, there is constant touching and slapping of backs, kissing and rubbing of bodies. If two women of the same age and social status meet, there is hugging, kissing and rubbing of upper parts of bodies in some cases. If men of the same age and social status meet, there is the beating of backs, a hug maybe, and the firm shaking of hands. There are all kinds of non-verbal things involved and happening in even the simplest of greetings in all cultures. And, all of you know that greetings and leave-takings are one of the first dialogues to be learned in most ESL or foreign language courses. They are indeed very complex activities non-verbally speaking. All of us are culture bound; we learned one way of behaving way back when we were small, and that is the "easy" and "right" way; it is our non-verbal vernacular. Not only that, but we cannot shed it easily, anymore

than we can shed our language, or our eating habits. However, if culture is learned, then it can be taught. But is this part of culture being taught in school? Are we instructing our students in our ESL and bilingual programs that if they are Latins, they cannot go around over-squeezing Anglos? And are Anglos being taught that they should start squeezing their Latin friends if they do not want to be considered cold, unfriendly, rejecting and insulting?

My third example is taken from another type of difference between Anglo and Latin cultures. Most Anglos in the United States have a *monochronic* culture, while Latin cultures are *polychronic.* A few examples will clarify the terms. In the United States, most interpersonal relations among Anglos, whether formal or informal, are carried out in a one-to-one sequence. If you go to a store, the clerk takes care of one person at a time; you form lines at stamp windows, etc., for the same reason. I learned my lesson at Gimbels in New York City when I interrupted a dialogue a clerk was having with a customer to ask her about some beads she had in front of her. She snappily told me to wait my turn. Thus the term: mono (one) chronic (time)—one at a time. In Puerto Rico and in other Latin countries, a clerk takes care of two, three, four people at a time (poly [many] chronic [time]). A newcomer has priority over the previous customer. But there are limits. After five customers, I have seen clerks getting anxious. Some of them call the manager for help.

Shopping at stores is an important skill that any person living in the United States should master, even though self-service stores have reduced the problem somewhat. This difference should be included in our curriculum, because the situation repeats itself, and not just at stores. Polychronism is applied in all interpersonal relationships in Latin cultures. Here's another example: if I, as a Puerto Rican teacher, am talking to one of my colleagues, one of my students, or to my Dean and another colleague or student approaches me wanting to talk to me, I immediately cease talking to the person I was talking to, and acknowledge the newcomer. And the three of us talk! This situation repeats itself constantly whenever conversations between two persons are taking place in a public or semi-public place, like offices. Newcomers are never left out; in fact, they are invited to join a conversation that is already going on as a matter of courtesy. So when *do* you talk very privately? You have to do something very unusual for Puerto Ricans: you close your door.

I believe this pattern is so drastically different from the Anglo pattern that Puerto Ricans and other Latins must be taught how to deal with people in a monochronic cultural setting. In the same

fashion, Anglos must be taught how to deal with Latins and their polychronic culture. I have seen Americans depart in despair from store counters in Puerto Rico and from friendly conversations because they insist on waiting their turn, or in speaking in a one-to-one order with their friend. At the stores, they tell the clerk they will wait their turn, when actually what they are doing is missing their turn completely.

Let me discuss KINESICS now, the field that studies body motions and gestures. Puerto Ricans have two very interesting geatures that many of you probably know quite well by now. I mean the wiggling" of the nose to mean: "Who?" "What?" "What was that?" "What can I do for you?" And with a concerned look on your face, it means: "Anything wrong?" "What is the matter?" "What ails you?" Then, there is the pointing with puckered lips, which does not mean "the blowing of a kiss." It means: "There." "Over there." "That one." "Those."

Now, a Puerto Rican may use these gestures as complete questions, instead of the verbal patterns. Oftentimes, when a teacher asks something in English and the students do not understand, the noses go into action. The pointing with the lips is used constantly to point, to request something a distance away, and even to send messages of warm fellowship when it is joined to a smile to mean: "Listen to that love talk! That was a sweet thing to say." But to this day, I have never "seen" questions or expressions like these in English.

These wonderful gestures, which you can master here today, will not do in an English context. They are meaningless here. Puerto Ricans and other Latins must be taught, first of all, to realize that they wiggle their noses and point with their lips, since these are unconscious actions peculiar to their culture (a step in self-awareness, self-identity). Next, they must be taught that this form of kinesics, i.e.: this non-verbal way of communicating in their culture, is nonexistent in the Anglo and northern European cultures. Third, they should be taught that even if they use the gestures—which they will —they must accompany them with words. Anglos should also be taught about this behavior, for they would be learning not just new gestures, but also the liberating truth that there is incredible and exciting variety among humans when we communicate among ourselves. Moreover, both groups of students would also be learning to switch cultural channels, a skill no one can do without in this world of ours.

I have left out many other differences, which there is not time to discuss now. For example, a) personal vs. impersonal, b) tiempo Ingles vs. tiempo latino, c) bargaining vs. non-bargaining, d) noisy vs. silent cultures, e) staring vs. non-staring, f) joking vs. non-joking,

etc. All of these differences should be incorporated into ESL and Bilingual Education curricula.

Before concluding, I would like to present to you some observations from the researchers in the field of non-verbal communication that I think are fundamental to our ESOL and Bilingual Education programs, and which I hope you will remember in your classrooms, especially when you are teaching those very dehydrated dialogues in most of your textbooks.

Some of the scholars who have done, and are doing, extensive work in the field of non-verbal communication are Hall, Birdwhistell, Mead, Schefflen, Brier, Green, Cervenka, and Rosenthal, to name a few. Following are some key messages for you from them, messages all of us should remember, meditate upon, and try to apply to our classrooms.

> To focus exclusively upon the words humans interchange is to eliminate much of the communicational process from view, and thus, from purposive control. It is my guess that probably no more than 30% to 35% of the social meaning of conversation or an interaction is carried by words. (Birdwhistell 1970:50)

> Still as of today, it is presumed that if both A and B (two speakers) have properly learned their grammar, have good enough dictionaries which they studied adequately, spoke loud enough and were neither of them deaf, and did not become too emotional, communication has taken place . . . Actually, the communication stream can be made up of multiple behavioral patterns existing on different levels. Research is slowly demonstrating that communicating is made up of levels of activity, the verbal being one among many others. (Birdwhistell 1970:88)

There is movement (kinesics), space (proxemics), how you order your activities (temporality), touching (haptics), although very little investigation has been carried out in the olfactory and thermal levels.

> We can no more understand communication by exhaustive investigation of language and paralanguage (intonation, stress, juncture) than we can understand physiology by, say the exhaustive investigation of the circulatory or nervous system. Physiology as we know it is less than 100 years old. Little by little, we have come to understand the neural processes, then, endocrinology, and the circulation of the blood. However, until the living system as a whole was examined, modern physiology with its complex considerations of homeostasis, balance, organization of its sub-systems could not be conceived. (Birdwhistell 1970:73-74)

ESL instruction is still about 100 years behind physiology, it seems. We still believe that communication and social competence is linguistically based. We, in dissecting "the cadaver" of communication and social interchange have discovered a system: language. We seem to think it is all of communication, but it is not. There are other systems of communication besides language, and many scholars

have been concerned with these other systems for a long time now: anthropologists, social scientists, and especially psychiatrists. But not language teachers . . . as yet.

There are some additional reminders for us, that I want to pass on to you. Sapir tells us the following:

> We respond to gestures with an extreme alertness and . . . in accordance with an elaborate and secret code that is written nowhere, known by none, and understood by all. (1921:556)

However, Birdwhistell, supported by Mead and many others, says:

> We have found no gesture or body motion which has the same social meaning in all societies. There is no body motion or gesture that can be regarded as a universal symbol. Not even a smile. In fact, the methods of organizing body motion into communicative behavior by various societies may be as variable as the structure of the languages of these societies. (1970:81)

In other words, if the markers or patterns of non-verbal levels are culture bound, learned behavior, there is great possibility of confusion when the messages are given in another cultural context or setting. "In the USA, we move and speak American English" (Birdwhistell 1970). In Puerto Rico, we move and speak Puerto Rican Spanish, and "never the twain shall meet."

In fact,—and a very dramatic one at that

> . . . if the communicational behavior of an individual in our culture is sufficiently unexpected and idiosyncratic as to be beyond the range of our previous experiences, we may be unable to relate to him successfully. We usually tend to label such behavior as pathological. (Birdwhistell 1970:15)

To our culture-bound eyes and senses, people from other cultures behave strangely or even pathologically. What is totally natural in one culture may be perceived and interpreted as pathological in another.

This last comment explains my worry and concern regarding the present teaching of ESL here in the States, where so many different cultures meet. Our teaching has completely excluded the kinesis, proxemic, haptic and parakinesic dimensions of communication.

I hope I have intrigued, interested and motivated you enough so that the next time you teach a dialogue or you interrelate with Latins or anybody else from another culture than your own, you stop to think about some of the things I have brought to your attention today, things that do not yet appear in the dialogue text but which should definitely be there. I hope many of you will become motivated enough to find out what those absent messages are, and start writing out the scripts that are missing, the non-verbal communication information that should accompany all oral interplay

in any language teaching.

Some preliminary language materials incorporating non-verbal communication have recently been completed, with federal funds, in Pennsylvania. These may be obtained free of charge by writing T. A. Bonder, Bilingual ESL Center, 100 Franklin Street, New Holland, Pennsylvania 17557.

In closing, I would like to leave with you some thoughts from Edward T. Hall, taken from his well known book, *The Silent Language.*

> Man did not evolve culture as a means of smothering himself, but as a medium to move, live, breathe, and develop his own uniqueness . . . Full acceptance of the reality of culture would have revolutionary consequences, although (in studying it) we should expect resistance, for the universe does not yield its secrets easily, and culture is no exception. (However), full understanding of what culture is should rekindle our interest in life, in finding out who we are, in trying to find out who others are. (1959:165-66)

I add that we, as teachers, are committed to this activity, that of discovery and of deepening insight, so critically important in this age of closed-in spaces, of shortened distances, and of multi-contacts with the many and the different.

There may come a time in the very near future when culture and all its systems are better known, and the wave the equivalent of what someone has called "musical scores" that can be learned by everyone. At this moment the task seems impossible to carry out. But it has been done before thousands of times in the history of man.

> Time, which is such a well-known system for us, and one we take very much for granted, was once a . . . system known only to a few priests along the Nile River who had perfected it in response to a *need* to forecast annual floods more accurately. (Edward T. Hall 1959:130)

There is such a pressing need at present: intercultural understanding, the carrying out of the new enterprise of learning to live together. Together but different. Let's get on with the task.

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II. PROGRAMS AND PRACTICES

Introduction

This section is devoted to papers describing the practical suggestions of educators working in second language teaching programs. There are, of course, a number of comprehensive texts which describe second language teaching techniques (e.g., Byrne, 1976; Chastain, 1976; Finocchiaro, 1976; Light, 1978; Paulston and Bruder, 1976; Rivers and Temperly, 1978). The selections in this section, however, go beyond these volumes to offer new insights into teaching and learning a second language.

One of the most exciting new areas of language research is discourse analysis. Building upon the traditional concerns of scholars such as Malinowski (1935) and Firth (1935), Sinclair and Coulthard (1975) for example, have developed a system for analysis of the ways in which language units above the rank of clauses are related and patterned. Utilizing suggestions from this source and others, Ann Hilferty and Amy Lezberg describe how they have applied aspects of discourse analysis to the task of teaching reading in a second language. Although there are a number of recent texts which aim at teaching reading to second language learners (e.g., Live, 1977; Neustadt, 1975), Hilferty and Lezberg offer some exciting new ideas on the topic. In addition to the Hilferty and Lezberg article, John Fanselow's discussion, in the last section of this text, provides a further example of a type of discourse analysis (following Bellack, *et al*, 1966) applied to a practical educational problem—the systematic classification of patterns of communication both in the classroom and outside of the classroom. Finally, in another related article in Section III, Stephen Gaies investigates characteristics of the language used by teacher trainees in an ESL classroom.

The selections by Donald Byrd and Gloria Gallingane, David Davidson, and Robert Rainsbury address the question of teaching students to write effectively, a topic that increasingly concerns not only ESL teachers but all teachers. As with teaching other language skills, there are a number of texts specifically designed to teach writing to learners of English as a second language (e.g., Bander, 1978; Paulston and Dykstra, 1973; Ross and Doty, 1975). Although

Paulston and Dykstra (1973) identify several approaches to teaching writing (the "grammatical knowledge" approach, the "model of good writing" approach, the "free writing" approach, the "teaching students to think" approach, the "controlled composition" approach), they suggest that reducing the entire range of activities for teaching writing to these few types is "arbitrary." And indeed, the selections on teaching writing presented here demonstrate the accuracy of that suggestion. The authors provide a range of suggestions for improving the teaching of writing in the ESL classroom which do not fall neatly into any one of the approaches noted above. Rainsbury discusses "precomposition" and beginning composition activities; Byrd and Gallingane describe a writing syllabus which includes both "grammatical knowledge" activities and picture compositions, and Davidson discusses procedures for assessing the writing abilities of ESL students. All three presentations should prove helpful for teachers concerned with obtaining new ideas for improving the writing skills of their students.

Jean McConochie, Mary Hines, and Alice Osman and Laurie Wellman all describe innovative ways of involving students in activities designed to enhance development of listening and speaking skills. Again of course, there is a considerable literature, noted above, on how to teach these skills; there are also a variety of texts designed to help learners acquire the skills (e.g., Plaister, 1976; Dubin and Margol, 1977; Bodman, 1975; Methold, 1975). None of these, however, illustrate the innovations described in these papers—innovations which provide the classroom teacher with the means to assist learners in developing the skills of understanding and using English in practical and enjoyable ways. These selections on the use of poetry, song, and drama provide both the experienced teacher and the neophyte with a number of suggestions for increasing both the enjoyment and the skills of young and old learners of English.

The final paper in this section describes the impact of remote political events upon local educational programs. With the end of the Vietnam War, the U.S. Government welcomed thousands of Southeast Asian refugees to our shores. Mary Galvan, in Section I, described from a national perspective some of the implications of this movement of refugees. In their selection, Patricia DeLany and Gordon Van Hooft discuss programmatic considerations for meeting this challenge at the state level, and provide practical suggestions for anyone faced with the task of teaching newly-arrived learners of English.

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Discourse Analysis at the Intermediate and Advanced Levels of ESL: Language Control Through Reading Drills

Ann Hilferty and Amy Lezberg

Unlike transformational and structural analyses of language, discourse analysis focuses on linguistic units above the rank of clause and on their sequences, and takes into consideration situational context and existential meaning. To a great extent, recent work in discourse analysis has seemed particularly useful for two groups. For researchers it has facilitated the description of generalized exchanges and conversations, through the examination of such aspects in turn-taking, cohesion, and closure. For materials developers, it has contributed to the organization and structure of programs and textbooks aimed at ESL/EFL students in such specific disciplines as economics, science and technology, and medicine. In all of these instances, ESL students themselves, although the ultimate consumers of the materials, are not necessarily expected to understand the underlying principles upon which their courses are based. As a result, they may experience certain difficulties in transferring some of the skills gained in English for Special Purposes courses into their everyday manipulation of and discourse in English.

Our goals as instructors in general ESL courses for college students—whether in intensive or credit-granting programs—are twofold: to provide the lexicogrammatical bases for academic success and also to enhance the students' ability to function and communicate effectively within the total university experience. This paper describes two specific applications of discourse analysis congruent to the

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achievement of these goals. At the advanced level, discourse analysis is used to provide tools for the students as they interpret contemporary fiction; at the intermediate level, it provides tools for the teacher as she establishes bases for clarity of communication between herself and students, and elicits increasingly complex observations from the students concerning reading materials. Although discourse analysis is emphasized as class content in the one and as pedagogy in the other, it functions as both at each level.

In a general way, we may say that the main funtions of language are to make a statement, to issue a command, and to ask a question. In standard, grammar-based textbooks for the teaching of English to native and non-native speakers, these functions have generally been subsumed to the presentation of those forms by which they have typically been expressed: the declarative, imperative, and interrogative sentence. Such a one-for-one correspondence, however, does not adequately describe the way in which language actually works. As Sinclair and Coulthard (1975) have noted, an interrogative is, in fact, a command when the subject is the addressee, the action is possible, and (positive command) the action is not proscribed/ (negative command) the action is proscribed at the moment of the utterance. In actual usage, furthermore, even in the absence of the first condition, an interrogative can be a command, as when a simple question conveys both a single overt and several (equally important) covert messages. For example, if you are sitting alone in the hotel coffee shop, wearing a TESOL convention badge, and a woman, also seated alone at the table next to yours wearing a TESOL convention badge says, "Is that the cream?", she might well be surprised if your only response is, "Yes." Rather, she might not only expect you to pass the cream but, in addition, may be inviting a conversation, which you can continue with the redundant question, "Are you at the convention?" In a similar manner, a declarative sentence can be a command. Recently, as I conversed with a teacher in the corridor of a Middle School in Boston, she suddenly interrupted our conversation to yell into the room behind her, "My people, I can hear you out here." Under the circumstances, this could only be interpreted as a negative command, i.e., for the noise to stop. The inherent ambiguity of the syntactic expression of this command, however, could cause misunderstandings and even discipline problems in the school if students decided to interpret it as a simple descriptive declarative sentence.

In preparing our students for successful communication with both faculty and peers at the university, and in preparing them to understand more fully the implications of their reading and verbal exchanges, we must do even more than point out these facts. We

must, indeed, begin to take into account other aspects of language usage, e.g., the domain of an utterance—"the occasions on which one language (variant, dialect, style, etc.) is habitually employed rather than (or in addition to) another" (Fishman, 1966, p. 428)—and the stylistic levels of the exchange. Examples of domains would be family, neighborhood, occupation, and so forth; examples of stylistic levels would be intimacy/distance, formality/informality, solidarity/nonsolidarity, status/power, and so forth, as found in role relations such as judge/petitioner, shopkeeper/customer, husband/wife, and so forth (Pride, 1971, p. 8).

Thus, in analyzing and creating dialogues, whether in literature or in real life, ESL students at the advanced level must discover and discuss the ways in which the language chosen depends upon and to some extent defines the relationship between the speakers. Of even more significance for the learner of English as a second language is the fact that native speakers, quick to forgive and help correct lexical or grammatical errors, will react almost unconsciously to, but will almost never attempt to correct, such sociolinguistic errors as may be made as a result of ignorance of these aspects of communication.

For those students whose initial courses in English have been in non-English-speaking countries, the problem is exacerbated by the fact that the dialogues presented to them for memorization in their grammar textbooks are not truly representative of the normal flow of conversation. Instead, they tend to reflect a variety of needs which almost inevitably preclude such representation. They are often written in language which assures the purchaser that only standard, grammatically "correct" forms are being employed—but such is not, of course, the case in normal conversation. They are frequently written to reinforce the learning of a particular grammatical form, e.g., the noun clause—but again, such is not the case in normal conversation. They are frequently contextualized either minimally or not at all, because of limitations in the time and space implicit in their relative importance to the total syllabus—and, again, such is not the case in normal conversation, where nonverbalized context substitutes and obviates the necessity for a certain percentage of verbal explanation and articulation. Sometimes, indeed, the very attempt to provide a dialogue long enough to give the appearance of contextualiation is responsible for the stilted quality of what, in a shorter sampling, might have appeared a possible conversation, as the monotony of structure begins to impede the credibility of the dialogue. Advanced students who have mastered such dialogues may, therefore, still be frustrated by their inability to communicate at appropriately sophisticated levels with their American peers both outside the classroom and in those seminars which depend for their effectiveness

upon informal discussion rather than formal lecture.

One valuable approach to the solution to this problem is found in the role plays and interaction activities included in such series as Kettering's *Developing Communicative Competence* (1975). Even here, however, although students do have a chance to practice such techniques as self-initiated repair and word search in a supportive milieu, the very fact that all participants are second language learners encourages a particular form of comprehension through the use of slow, careful speech. In an attempt to transcend the limitations of a second-language class, we must discover ways to induce students to consider and discuss the responses to the following questions:

> How does a conversation develop?
> How does one move from one utterance to the next?
> Who controls the conversation and how can you tell?
> How does control pass form one speaker to another?
> How do speakers end one topic and introduce another?

In order to accomplish this goal, texts are needed which do, in fact, present the flow of normal conversation and which, because they are to form the bases for a freshman composition course for ESL students, can also provide an introduction to certain aspects of American culture as well as practice in reading unedited texts similar to those familiar to native-speaking freshmen. For such purposes, the study of contemporary American drama seems ideal: plays are, after all, designed to be heard, and the flow of conversation in them is designed to indicate the inner state of each speaker as well as to delineate the relationship between the characters conversing. In addition, because their presentation is an ephemeral experience, the nuances of these relationships are generally presented in ways other than through the use of complex syntactic structures, which might confuse the listening audience. Furthermore, and perhaps most compellingly, the printed text of the play implies rather than spells out those nonverbal elements of the discourse supplied in a given production by the actors, in response to the director's interpretation.

Under such conditions, reading for the advanced ESL student can become, as Widdowson (1976) has suggested it should, not a reaction to a text but an interaction between the author and the reader with the text as intermediary; an active rather than a passive activity. This goal may be realized in an advanced ESL class—proficient both in survival English and in technological course-related English—through the study of Arthur Miller's *Death of a Salesman.* This play is not only paradigmatic of American culture but, in addition, is complex not because of lexicon or syntax but because of those covert elements of social interaction which control and transcend the meaning

of each discrete word, sentence, or speech within the play. Indeed, much of the play's action concerns what one can say and how one can speak in a set of given circumstances. As Willy Loman comes to the end of his avowedly unsuccessful life, in which he has neither earned enough money to provide material security for his family nor provided them with enough inspiration to find contentment without riches in their adulthood, both he and they worry about how to express their feelings, their insecurities, and their needs to one another. Ultimately, his suicide results from the belief that he in fact is worth nothing living and at least several thousand insurance dollars dead.

A key scene in the play involves Willy's going to the office of Howard, the son of his former boss and now the owner of the company, to ask for a change in position. Prior to this interview, Willy has given his sons a set of rules for successful business interviews and has, in addition, psyched himself up by a consideration of the needs of his family and the amount of time he has invested in the company. Of course, he follows none of his own advice, moving in the interview from a confident request for a change in position (off the road and into the showroom) to an indignant protest at its denial and, finally, to a pathetic plea to be allowed to keep any job at all after Howard, in exasperation, fires him. The conflicts which arise in this interview come about because Willy, a contemporary of Howard's father, is torn between his sense of the communication appropriate to this social role and that appropriate to an employee asking for a favor. At the same time, Howard is made uncomfortable by the presumption of social familiarity in a business milieu, and this discomfort causes him to become even harder and more business-like than, perhaps, he would otherwise be. The use of first names and assumption of social equality, the whole context of American small-business culture in which such confusion can arise, permeates this scene.

Students, in discussing the scene, have their attention drawn particularly to the conversation starters and interrupters, to questions and their responses, and to the control of time and conversation. In the following excerpts, brackets indicate the types of questions used in class to focus attention on these elements:

Willy: Pst! Pst! [where would such a conversation opener be used? How does one usually interrupt a solitary person to begin a conservation?]

Howard: Hello, Willy, come in. [Describe the setting. Where is Howard? How close does Willy come?]

Willy: Like to have a little talk with you, Howard. [Who says such a thing? Compare Willy's later attempts to get Howard to discuss the issue, e.g., "Like to ask a little favor of you . . ."

How would that sentence finish?]

Howard: Sorry to keep you waiting. I'll be with you in a minute. [How does Howard establish control of the situation?]

Howard refuses to acknowledge Willy's request, forcing him, instead, to listen to his family on a wire recorder, his new "toy." Then . . .

Willy: Well, to tell you the truth, Howard, I've come to the decision that I'd rather not travel any more. [What question is implicit in this statement?]

Howard: Not travel! Well, what'll you do?

Willy: Remember, Christmas time, when you had the party here? You said that you'd try to think of some spot for me here in town. [Reconstruct the Christmas dialogue. How serious a promise was this? How do you know?]

Howard: With us? [Why does he ask this?]

Willy: Well, sure.

Howard: Oh, yeah, yeah. I remember. Well, I couldn't think of anything for you, Willy. [Has he tried? How do you know?]

Finally, having refused Willy's plea for any job at all, Howard concludes the interview:

Howard: Sit down, take five minutes and pull yourself together, and then go home, will ya? I need the office, Willy. (He starts to go, turns, remembers the recorder, starts to push off the table holding the recorder.) Oh, yeah, whenever you can this week, stop by and drop off the samples. You'll feel better, Willy, and then come back and we'll talk. Pull yourself together, kid, there's people outside. [There are three mentions of time in this speech—five minutes, a week, and an indefinite future when "we'll talk." Discuss the implications of each use as to Howard's character, his attitude toward Willy, and their relationship in the future.]

The rapid deterioration of the relationship as the conversation progresses is not only important in understanding the world of play, but introduces students to a variety of options in conversation control which they are then encouraged to observe outside the classroom. The discussion of this play thus provides not only insight into a particular text but sensitizes students to interactions which they will participate in throughout their American university experience. As a result, without our telling them that they are using the techniques of discourse analysis, we have provided them with the means to do so and have thereby enhanced their understanding and communicative competence in situations less controlled than the ESL or technologically oriented classroom.

Obviously, however, students need not wait until they are at an advanced level to be the beneficiaries of current work in discourse analysis. In another quite different way, applications of discourse analysis can be traced in an intensive program for pre-freshman

students at the intermediate level, in which reading ESL is taught for purposes of accelerating students' entries into full-time academic programs. This intensive program also rejects many traditional goals and techniques in order to increase students' abilities to use English for academic purposes within limited amounts of time and independent of the rate with which they increase their oral command of English.

The students, testing between 350-450 on the TOEFL, would be grouped as low-intermediate in most large intensive English programs. They have imperfect control of the basic structure of English and limited vocabularies. In the program discussed in this paper, most of these students are prospective undergraduate or graduate students in engineering or business, and some of them are problem language learners. They include Venezuelan students on scholarships, applicants admitted conditionally to degree programs, slow language learners repeating their second or third terms in intensive programs, and some students who are, simply, slow readers.

The standard academic procedure in previous ESL classes for these students has been to place and promote them according to their performance in language structure tests, and to use in-class materials selected according to structural criteria. Reading exercises have been similarly restricted, designed to consolidate students' control of structure and not their reading ability as such. Students have most often been expected to read only simplified materials, to remember discrete points of information, to understand and be able to define vocabulary items, and to use excerpts from the passages for structure practice. This has encouraged them to read slowly and word-for-word, perhaps to sub-vocalize, to regress frequently, and to miss broad meanings. Teacher expectations and practices have reinforced these habits in foreign students, just as in many highly successful American high school graduates who find it difficult to break away from the successful word-for-word techniques of their secondary experience in order to develop abstracting and synthesizing skills necessary for success in college. In addition to having been successful students in their own countries, foreign students often come from educational systems which reward the recall of small details. They have also learned to pay attention to minute details in their study of the English language and have, as a result, frequently retained these habits as part of their general study skills.

In order to wean these students from the combined restrictions of previous ESL classes and perhaps their personal reading habits, reading exercises have been designed with emphasis on reading as discourse. Selections are chosen from current newspapers, magazines, and best-selling non-fiction according to their comprehensibility and

interest to students, as well as to their current topicality. The exercises useful in this program include the following:

A. *Skimming*
   1. For summary: in class discussions, in dyads, in writing, and in selection from among multiple choices.
   2. For key words and phrases.

B. *Before-reading activities*
   1. Introduce subject (or title or key phrases or key propositions) and brainstorm in class or dyadic discussions.
   2. Students generate their own questions.
   3. Do word association activities, using key words and phrases.
   4. Discuss and define new vocabulary items.
   5. Teacher reads part of selection to students who make predictions concerning information, opinions, style, of rest of text.
   6. Students begin to read selection, stopping part way through to make predictions concerning the remainder.
   7. Students read first paragraph of article and formulate questions about the rest, or read the first line of each paragraph and formulate questions. Then continue reading to answer own questions and to exchange questions with others.
   8. Students read the last paragraph of the article and make hypotheses about the preceding paragraphs.
   9. Students read in dyads or groups and compose questions for each other or for other groups.
   10. Students read questions on the passage before reading.

C. *After-Reading exercises*
   1. Summarize before discussing selection or doing comprehension exercise.
   2. Distinguish between author's statement and opinions, and readers' opinions.
   3. Paraphrase, then discuss what author does in each paragraph.
   4. Do comprehension exercises: true/false/unknown; yes/probably/possibly/probably not/no; deductions, inferences, implications, paraphrases.
   5. Recall specific details from selection and relate to other information frameworks or own experiences.
   6. Read and take notes.
   7. Paraphrase selections freely.
   8. Fill in incomplete outlines or make own outlines of selections.
   9. Distinguish between general topics and facts.
   10. Expand on the selection's generalizations or facts from own frame of reference or from information-gathering exercise.
   11. Match detached topic sentence with truncated paragraph.
   12. Add own paragraphs to topic sentences, and make up topic sentences for paragraph bodies.
   13. Discuss language features and forms as allowed by reading selection: e.g., ambiguities, euphemisms, pejorative language, telegraphic prose, deletions, ellipses, puns, allusions, irony, humor, loaded language.

14. When appropriate, discuss authorial intent, possible bias, propaganda; different audiences, etc.

D. *Scanning Tasks*
   1. Scan for specific information such as: information questions, answers to multiple choice questions, the main idea, selection, organization.
   2. Scan in text analysis for such information as: the occurrence of particular letters, derivational morphemes, syntactic markers and patterns, transition words, phrase clause markers, key words and phrases, punctuation.
   3. Scan to pick out connections and transitions when word connectors are missing.

E. *Reading Skill Builders:* through technical devices, textual format, or teacher and students' manipulation of materials.
   1. Practice phrase reading through texts arranged in grouped phrases, cloze format, deleted letters.
   2. Do timed reading exercises.
   3. Students monitor own timed reading exercises on passages of own choice.

F. *Other Reading Activities*
   1. Skim an entire book, magazine, or newspaper in a few minutes.
   2. In a few minutes, become completely aware of the structure of a book: Table of Contents, Appendices, Chapter Organization.
   3. "Read" an entire book in fifteen to twenty minutes in order to answer a single essay question.
   4. Read charts and graphs and express contents in different modes.
   5. Skim and scan articles and chapters backwards—especially writing on math and science subjects.

Of course, the instructor chooses activities appropriate to the skills needed to utilize the materials assigned. As a result of these exercises, students usually stop fearing reading materials. They read more as active participants, asking questions and challenging ideas as well as remembering content. Students begin to develop new cultural expectancies in their reading, based on familiarity with stereotypes, skill in inferring unwritten values as they are evidenced in elliptical passages, and recognition of the logical, heuristic and other conventions of the written language. They become increasingly confident about bringing personal knowledge of subject matter to bear on their readings. They make decisions about different reading styles for different kinds of reading, and when appropriate they omit reading or reading carefully those parts of a book or article which are repetitive, irrelevant, or otherwise not deserving of their time.

In general, the exercises focus students' attention on the forms of discourse which they will encounter throughout their academic career and begin to give the students a framework in which they can quickly adapt their modes of reading to the requirements of particular

assignments. Thus, the insights derived from discourse analysis, useful in helping the reading teacher to choose her materials and create her exercises, begin even at this level to help the students, also, to analyze needs and meet them. With the addition of the exercises at the advanced level, in which the students begin to consider problems in generalized conversation similar to those they did in their academic material, discourse analysis proves its value in enhancing the potential for academic success and the total university experience for students for whom English is a second or foreign language

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Teaching Composition at the Beginning Level: A Promising Approach

Robert Rainsbury

This paper describes a set of lessons designed to introduce a beginning class in English as a second language to the problems of written English. Before setting out specifics of content and design, it would probably be best to talk about the class and the program for which these materials were created. The class was a beginning level class in the intensive English program of the American Language Institute of New York University. The students, all young adults, received twelve hours instruction in grammar per week, divided into four consecutive three hour segments, for fourteen weeks. Two of these hours each week, however, were reserved for instruction in composition — one hour on one day and one hour on another.

When I was first given the assignment of teaching a class at this level, I followed the procedure then in effect. Before beginning any instruction in composition, I waited until approximately the third week. When I began, I used the textbook then in use at the next highest level, a text I will not further identify, lest it seem that I am being critical of it, and I have no wish to be that. It seemed to me, that excellent as it was, this textbook moved too rapidly for a beginning class, involving my students in structures and concepts that they were not yet prepared to deal with. I therefore discussed with the program coordinator the possibility of creating a set of materials in what I then called "precomposition", materials which would begin at an absolutely basic level, enabling students to use them in the first week of instruction, and which would move at a speed appropriate to the beginning student. As always happens in such cases, or so I suspect, I myself was given the assignment of creating these materials, thus

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forcing me not merely to talk about precomposition, but to find out what it was.

In writing these materials, I had several objectives in mind. First, to establish controls over the material the student was to write, controls that were stricter than those the usual composition text provides. Second, to keep the materials at the sentence level, and not attempt instruction in paragraph or composition organization. This reflects a feeling of mine, derived from personal experience, that introduction of the classic components of a rhetoric course is not of much use until mastery at the sentence level has been attained. The role of what is sometimes called stylistics in writing courses for nonnative speakers is a question to which I will return in the latter part of this paper. Finally, I wanted to provide systematic instruction in punctuation and spelling, so often dealt with haphazardly, if at all.

The materials were designed to coordinate with the students' grammar text. As I wrote the lessons, I kept in close touch with the grammar teacher to be certain I was not getting ahead of her. As the last sentence suggests, I was given the assignment of writing the materials and teaching them at the same time, a procedure which adds a certain excitement, not to say suspense, to the experience, but one which I cannot otherwise recommend.

Since these materials were first prepared, and this paper first written, these materials have been somewhat revised and expanded and, in this form, published under the title *Written English* (Prentice-Hall, 1977). In the excerpts that follow, sentences, exercises and lesson numbers appear as they do in this book.

And so do the lessons themselves. For the first seven lessons, the basic strategy is that of providing materials for the students to copy, and giving the students various operations to perform on the material. As will be seen in the examples, however, this method differs somewhat from other texts using a controlled composition approach. Each lesson introduces a rule and then provides exercises by which the application of that rule is practised. Lesson One begins with the simplest possible punctuation rule — *Sentences begin with a capital letter and end with a period.* Five sentences are then presented in unpunctuated form:

1. the girl is pretty
2. the actor is handsome
3. the men are teachers
4. the woman is a doctor
5. the women are tall

The students copy these sentences adding the punctuation. The exercises, it should be added, are all designed to be done in class. It is not expected that homework will be assigned. As the students copy,

the teacher moves around the room, checking the papers. The next rule introduces the question mark with another illustrative exercise:

1. is the man tall
2. is the man a lawyer
3. are the women lawyers

There follows a mixed exercise, combining both statements and questions:

1. the girl is young
2. are the men lawyers
3. is the boy fat
4. the men are nurses

All of the sentences, it will be noted, use the *be* copula in the present, since that is presumably where the student will be in his grammar class. I hope my real strategy will begin to reveal itself at this point. I am teaching punctuation, of course, but I am also reinforcing the grammar structure, giving practice in distinguishing between a statement and a question. Above all, I am doing this through *writing.* Next I introduce the apostrophe in order to bring in the contracted form:

1. the boys a student
2. the boys are students
3. the girls pretty
4. the girls are pretty

Again, I had a double purpose in mind. I wanted to show the student the importance of and the necessity for the copula. Thus, a sentence like *the books om the table* either contains a contraction or it is not a sentence. Finally, toward the end of the lesson there is a simple paragraph for the students and the teacher to read together:

The woman's a secretary. She's pretty. She's intelligent. She's happy. She's not sad.

The girl's are students. They're pretty. They're intelligent. They're happy. They're not sad.

The students are then given the same paragraph unpunctuated:

the womans a secretary shes pretty shes intelligent shes happy shes not sad

the girls are students theyre pretty theyre intelligent theyre happy theyre not sad

The students copy this, adding the punctuation and then check it against the first version. End of lesson.

As different structures are introduced, this procedure is modified in various ways. When pronoun substitution is presented in the second lesson, the final paragraph takes this form:

THE STUDENTS IN THE CLASS

Maria Gomez is in the first row. She is Venezuelan. Karl Freund is in the second row. He is behind Miss Gomez. He is from Germany.

maria gomez is in the first row maria gomez is venezuelan karl freund is in the second row karl freund is behind miss gomez karl freund is from germany

The student not only copies and adds pronunciation and capitalization, he also substitutes pronouns for the underlined words. This technique is also used to present possessive pronouns in the third lesson:

My house is on Main St. John's is on Broad St. John's apartment is small. Mine is large. My rent is high. John's is low.

my house is on main st johns house is on broad st johns apartment is small my apartment is large my rent is high johns rent is low

Lesson Five introduces the present continuous, but does so by teaching the spelling rules, presented and drilled one at a time:

Words that end in an unpronounced final *e* drop the *e* before adding *—ing.*

Example: *smoke* John is *smoking* a cigar now.

1. mr. adams (shave) now
2. maria (practice) english now

The composition presents all the various examples together:

this is the cafeteria some students (stand) in line the attendants (serve) the food they (put) the food on the plates

With Lesson Eight comes a shift in the kind of composition exercise presented. It introduces what may be called the skeleton composition. The focus of the lesson is on the *and-too, and-either* construction. The composition exercise is preceded by a model paragraph:

THE STUDENTS IN THE CLASS (Part Three)

Maria is Latin American and Joao is too. Joao is Brazilian, but Maria isn't. Erika is a blonde and Helga is too. Dr. Chen isn't European and Joseph Lacroix isn't either. Michael and Dimitrios are Europeans and Pierre and Klaus are too.

But this is followed by a model paragraph which is incomplete and which the student completes by using the names of people in his class:

(name) *(name)*
_____ *is* _____ *and* _____ *is too.*
(name) *(name)* *(name)*
_____ *and* _____ *are* _____ *and* _____ *is too.* _____
(name) *(name)*
isn't _____ *and* _____ *isn't either* _____ *and*
(name) *(name)* *(name)*
_____ *are* _____ *but* _____ *and* _____ *aren't*

This is, of course, intended as an intermediate step between completely controlled and free composition. In Lesson Ten which, together with Lesson Nine, teaches the patterning of determiners and the mass-count noun distinction, another skeleton composition appears:

MY HOME

In my home there is a _____ *and a* _____ *there are some* _____ *and some* _____ *there is a* _____ *but there is no* _____ *and there are no* _____ *there isnt any* _____ *and there isnt any* _____ *either im happy in my home with my* _____ *my* _____ *and my* _____

(singular countable) (plural countable) (uncountable)

It will be seen that this is somewhat more difficult than the first skeleton composition where the student need only add names. Here, he must think about the kind of noun that will fit the slot.

The last seven lessons have, again, a change. These lessons break into two parts, one to be taught the first hour of the week and the other on the second. The first part of the lesson, as before, provides sentence and paragraph exercises. But the second part provides one or two pages for review, and then a model paragraph and a topic for a free composition. Lesson Thirteen, for example, introduces the combining of sentences with *before* and *after*, and reduction of clauses to *-ing* phrases. The model paragraph and composition topic from this lesson are as follows:

MR. BROWN'S MORNING

Mr. Brown wakes up at 6:30 after his alarm clock rings. He washes and shaves before dressing. After he dresses, he fries two eggs and makes a pot of coffee. He reads the morning paper before putting on his hat and coat. After he puts on his hat and coat, he walks to his car. He drives for half an hour before arriving at his office. After he arrives there, he puts his car in a garage and goes to work.

MY MORNING

To summarize then, these lessons are designed to lead a student step by step, first, through a completely controlled situation, then into a partially controlled situation and finally, when he has advanced far enough, to the point where most composition materials begin — the model and free composition. It is my hope that such a procedure will give the students both confidence and experience and that the final free compositions will at least bring the student to a point where work on larger composition elements might begin, if desired.

This leads me to my final point. When these lessons were first written, some of my colleagues criticized them for being excessively grammar oriented. This is an accusation to which, unblushingly, I plead guilty. I remember reading, somewhere or other, that concert pianists speak of getting a new composition "off the fingers", meaning that they practise the fingering intensively until it has been mastered before going on to work on expression and dynamics — the stylistics of music. I believe that non-native speakers of English are in a somewhat similar situation. For them, getting it off the fingers means mastery of the grammar patterns. After such mastery, and only after, they are free to consider stylistic and interpretive matters — whether in speech, reading or writing. While native speakers of English make horrendous errors, including grammatical errors, they *have* the language, they have the fingering. Despite this, we ESL teachers continue to employ techniques of teaching composition which are really designed for native speakers. About such techniques, one has to say what one has to say about the teaching of literature in ESL classes — if the non-native speaker is to study works of literature in the native language, he must acquire considerable fluency in the language first. I also feel compelled to raise the question — recognizing, first, that I may be stirring up a hornet's nest, and, second, that this question deserves an entire paper in itself — of whether the study of stylistics is always appropriate for the non-native speaker.

It all hinges, of course, on the question of the student's goals. What do our students want to learn to write *for?* Let me, for a moment, descend to the anecdotal level. During the time that I was, myself, a non-native speaker in a Spanish speaking country, I had several encounters with written Spanish, one of which I remember vividly. I had, at the time of the story, been in the country about eight months. One of my colleagues was moving into a house he had just rented, and he asked me to go on an errand for him. He asked me to go to the shop of a certain electrician and bring him back to advise about the possibility of installing air-conditioning. I went to the man's shop. He was not there, but there was a pad and pencil beside his door. I left a brief note, explaining what was wanted and, in due time, the man appeared. What I remember now is my pleasure and pride at being able to compose even such a simple note as this with my newly acquired Spanish. And looking back, it was on occasions like this, and only on such occasions, that I had to write in Spanish. Had I remained in Latin America as a pedagogue, I may have gone on to write papers like this one in Spanish, and then, certainly, I would have had to learn a great deal about Spanish literary and syntactical convention. Had I remained there as an office

worker, I may not have had to. Many of my students are office workers, or have similar jobs, and they, I suspect want to learn to write English for equally humble tasks — notes for the milkman, memos to fellow workers, personal letters. Lessons on style, particularly those involving the presentation of literary models, may not be especially appropriate for such a student. If the student is to use such things — that is, if he's going on to write term papers, novels or poems in English, by all means, let him do so, and let us give him all the help we can. But even then, only when his English is "off the fingers". First things first. And on that possibly controversial, but I hope not overly contentious point, I end my remarks.

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A Capsule Course in ESL Composition for Adults

Gloria Gallingane and
Donald R. H. Byrd

For the past year, LaGuardia Community College of the City University of New York has been re-organizing its courses in English as a second language for first-year students. The new course design is a holistic one, dedicated to preparing the student to academically function using all his language skills: understanding, speaking, reading, and writing. The reading and writing components reinforce understanding and speaking but take on added importance in view of the fact that the ESL course must prepare the students fo function in a college curriculum. Consequently, students have to learn to read college materials and to write on a par with native-speaking, first-year students. Although there is a meshing of all skills in this holistic course design, this paper focuses on the organization of and the rationale for the composition component only.

It became obvious to us while writing the syllabus that we were writing, in essence, a topical grammar, but a grammar of a different nature than on reflecting oral skills. Since many grammatical operations are more frequent in writing than in speaking, we examined the writing grammar in a rather unique way. The result of our examination is a synthesis of basically *four* operations that an ESL writing grammar contains. In practice, these four operations comprise the writing grammar since every written sentence contains one but most often more of these basic operations.

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It has been pointed out that there is a universal need for the language user to express an idea in more than one way (Rutherford, 1974). This need to express himself in various ways is particularly true of the advanced language learner who is beginning to practice with different styles of writing.

Yet, even at lower levels of writing practice, learning focuses on alternative ways of saying the same thing. For example, any student who knows the comparative of adjectives can produce these two sentences:

John is older than Alice.
Alice is younger than John.

The two sentences are in effect making the same observation about John's and Alice's relative ages. It can be said that although the sentences differ lexically (*older/younger*), they probably share a common semantic source. Mere constituent analysis (N_1+V+ adj+ *er*+ *than*+ N_2) or parsing (noun + verb + adjective + conjunction + noun) relates the two sentences only superficially rather than both superficially *and* semantically.

A sure contribution of transformational-generative grammatical theory is the positing of surface and underlying forms. All the four grammatical operations demarcated for teaching writing deal with the seemingly mysterious phenomenon of relating underlying forms to a concomitant surface string or sentence. Further, the mystique is enhanced when the learner realizes he has a panoply of operations at his disposal, and he chooses one over another as in the following permutations:

Look the number up.
Look up the number.

However, the task of choosing surface renditions is sometimes restricted as in the pronominalization reduction of the previous sentences:

Look it up.
*Look up it.

This relationship of surface forms sharing a common meaning source has been called agnation (Gleason, 1965; Stevick, 1971; Byrd and Dumicich, 1974). It is this view of language relations which has influenced us to alter our view of ESL composition and its systematic operations.

Inflection Operations

The first category in our grammar-syllabus deals with *inflection*

operations which are present in all sentences. These operations are prescribed and are the first to be applied by the student in the hierarchical acquisition of his writing grammar; these operations always apply within a sentence and only operate as affixes in certain English parts of speech as charted in figure 1.

Figure 1.

Inflection Operations

1. Verbs
   a. tense — *want + ed*
   b. person and number — *want + s*
   c. action — *want + ing*
   d. mood — *want!*
   e. voice — (was) *want + ed*
2. Nouns
   a. number — *chicken + s*
   b. case — *chicken + 's*
3. Adjectives and adverb — degree
   a. positive — *fresh*
   b. comparative — *fresher*
   c. superlative — *freshest*
4. Pronouns
   a. number — *I, we*
   b. case — *I, my, me, mine*
   c. demonstratives — *this, that* (location)

English verbs are inflected for tense, person, action, mood, and voice; nouns in English change inflectionally for number and case; adjectives and adverbs in English inflect for degree; and English pronouns for number, case, and location (as for demonstratives). Other parts of speech (prepositions, conjunctions) show no inflectional contrasts. Mastery of inflectional writing operations usually precedes other operations and, furthermore, mirror the inflections of speech. Consequently, writing activities based on oral patterns is most apropos. The most fruitfully used writing activities that zero in on inflectional operations are transformational in nature. A writing activity is presented and the student is instructed to re-write it by changing the tense (from present to past, *etc.*) or the person (from "I" to "he," *etc.*) or other similar operations. Figure 2 illustrates focused inflectional writing practice.

Figure 2

"Chickens for Sale"

(1) I am a chicken farmer. (2) I have a big chicken farm in Maryland. (3) Each week I send thousands of chickens to supermarkets in New York City. (4) My chickens are all fresh and unfrozen. (5) I want to sell the freshest and tastiest chickens in the whole world. (6) I am a hardworking chicken farmer. (7) I raise good chickens for housewifes and their families. (8) I advertise my chickens on television. (9) I say, "It takes a tough man to make a tender chicken."

Operations

1. Copy the paragraph, but change the subject from *I* to *Frank Perdue.* Your first sentence will be: *Frank Perdue is a chicken farmer.*
2. Copy the paragraph but change *Frank Perdue* to *Frank Perdue and his brother.*
   Your first two sentences will be: *Frank Perdue and his brother are chicken farmers. They have a big chicken farm in Maryland.*
   (NOTE: In sentence 6 change *a hard-working chicken farmer* to *hard-working chicken farmers.* In sentence 9 change *a tough man* to *tough men.*)
3. Copy the paragraph but change the time to *five years* ago. Your first two sentences will be: *Five years ago Frank Perdue was a chicken farmer. He had a big chicken farm in Maryland.* (NOTE: Do not change the time in the quotation parts of sentence 9.)
4. Go back to STEP 1, *Frank Perdue is a chicken farmer.* Change that paragraph to a conversation. Make a yes-no question for each sentence and give short answers whenever possible. (NOTE: Do not change the quotation part of sentence 9.)

Co-ordination Operations

The second component in our capsule writing grammar is called *co-ordination operations* which are relatively limited in number. By far the most used co-ordination operation is conjoining, that is, putting a conjunction between two (or more) equal constituents (words, phrases, clauses, sentences) and the result is combining similar to these examples in figure 3.

Figure 3

(The sentences below are variations on an exercise from W. Strong's *Sentence Combining*, Random House, New York, 1973.)

1. Harris and Jones check in at 4:00.
2. Harris checks in at 4:00, and Jones does, too.
3. Both Harris and Jones check in at 4:00.
4. Neither Harris nor Jones checks in at 3:30.
5. Not only does Harris check in at 4:00 but Jones does, also.
6. Harris, Jones, and others check in at 4:00.
7. Harris checks in at 4:00; Jones does, too.
8. Harris checks in at 4:00; moreover, Jones does, too.
9. Harris checks in at 4:00; however, Alice doesn't.

It is noted in figure 3 that the students, even in writing co-ordination operations, should be on guard to adjust their inflection operations as the need arises. For example, changes in inflection from singular to plural are seen in examples 1, 3, and 6. Belonging, of course, to this category of co-ordination operations are the correlative conjunctions as exemplified in 3, 4, 5. Punctuation also is a device to coordinate forms: commas in items of a series (example 6), a semicolon for conjoined but conjunction-less sentences (example 7, 8 and 9). A more sophisticated writing skill is the use of connectors

or transition words which we place in the category of co-ordination operations because connectors, like conjunctions, join clauses or sentences of equal status (examples 8 and 9) demonstrating their co-ordinative function. Figure 4 below shows a typical writing activity that focuses on sentence combining, a most productive way to practice co-ordination operations.

Figure 4

"Patrol"*

1. Harris checks in at 4:00.
2. Jones checks in at 4:00.
3. They have taken care of the reports by 5:00.
4. They have taken care of the forms by 5:00.
5. Then they hurry downstairs.
6. They hurry through the office.
7. They hurry into the garage.
8. Their car is full of gas.
9. It is ready for the night's patrol.
10. They drive out of the station.
11. They drive into the rush-hour traffic.
12. The radio broadcasts its codes.
13. It broadcasts its dispatches.
14. It broadcasts its orders.
15. They greet the people they know in the street.
16. They wave to the children.
17. The evening stretches before them.

Subordination Operations

Our writing grammar's third component is called a *subordination operation*. This operation differs from a co-ordination operation in many ways but most noticeably in the number of ways that it is possible to combine sentences. (*Combining* is a general term describing the operations of putting sentences together and includes both co-ordination and subordination operations. As in current linguistic practice, the words *join* and *conjoin* connote only co-ordinative operations and do not accurately describe a subordination operation which characteristically subordinates one or more constituents.) Certainly the most common method of subordinating is linguistically known as imbedding, and these imbeddings can be lexical, phrasal, or clausal, as shown in figure 5.

Figure 5

Subordination Operations

1. Lexical
   a. A woman is shopping.

*Adapted from W. Strong's *Sentence Combining*. Random House, New York, 1973.

b. She is middle-aged.
c. A middle-aged woman is shopping.

2. Phrasal — Prepositional
   a. The woman is middle-aged.
   b. She is in the picture.
   c. The woman in the picture is middle-aged.
3. Phrasal — Verbal
   a. He hears the woman.
   b. She is shouting.
   c. He hears the woman shouting.
4. Clausal — Adverbial
   a. The woman thanks the man.
   b. She shakes his hand.
   c. The woman thanks the man as she shakes his hand.
5. Clausal — Relative
   a. The policeman arrests the thief.
   b. The thief doesn't resist.
   c. The policeman arrests the thief, who doesn't resist.
6. Clausal — Noun
   a. We believe something.
   b. He is a thief.
   c. We believe that he is a thief.
7. Appositive
   a. The shopper is shopping for a hat.
   b. The shopper is a middle-aged woman.
   c. The shopper, a middle-aged woman, is shopping for a hat.
8. Noun Adjuncts
   a. The man is a thief.
   b. The man is a professional.
   c. The man is a professional thief.

Example 1, a lexical imbedding, illustrates the imbedding of a pre-nominal adjective. Phrasal imbedding accounts for prepositional and verbal phrases (examples 2 and 3); clausal imbedding includes the operations of subordinating adverbial, relative (adjective), and noun clauses (examples 4, 5, and 6). Some other operations in application are not imbeddings; yet they are certainly subordinative by nature. Such subordinative operations are appositives (example 7) and noun adjuncts (example 8).

Derivation Operations

We call the fourth operation in our grammar of composition a *derivation operation*. In some instances, these derivation operations are concomitantly subordinative as evidenced in this example:

1. The man is a thief.
2. The man looks sinister.
3. The sinister-looking man is a thief.

If all derivation operations were completely subordinative, there would be no need for an additional category for derivation opera-

tions. However, certain operations are unique and require separate treatment as exemplified below:

1. The man is a professional thief.
2. The man snatches purses.
3. The purse-snatcher is a professional thief.

Of course, the derivation operations at work in English are quite numerous, forming of network of surface possibilities for a single underlying idea. Exemplary derivation operations at work in an English writing grammar include derivations like noun to verb (*sympathy, sympathize*); verb to noun (*arrive, arrival*); noun to adjective (elder, elderly); adjective to noun (*alert, alertness*); verb to adjective (*resist, resistable*); and adjective to adverb (*quick, quickly*). (It must be emphasized here that various complex derived (affixed) forms may occur more frequently than simple ones; so our criterion is not only one of frequency. Therefore, we are not saying that one surface form is derived from another surface form. A more accurate accounting is that both surface forms are derived from a common underlying base form, an abstraction, in essence. However, in manipulating derivations in writing, the learner's only access to these base forms or abstractions is through other surface forms. Consequently, we feel justified in setting up writing practice that has the learner manipulate surface forms.)

For all the preceding examples of sentence combining, it is most important that one note the sequence or cycle of presentation in order to focus the writing practice. This order shows that the first sentence presented is to be considered the main topic by students in their writing practice.

A. A woman is shopping
B. She is middle-aged
C. A middle-aged woman is shopping

This sequence with A preceding B clarifies the cycle of the subordination operation: B is imbedded into A. By dint of its first occurrence in the sequence, the student (and teacher) know to treat A as the main sentence constituent which receives the subordination operation—in this case, a pre-nominal imbedding of "middle-aged."

Some existing controlled writing practices focus on certain operations for restricted practice, but needless to say, attempting to use a single writing operation in one writing activity results in an unnatural and contrived composition. The writing activity in figure 6 represents a writing activity which invites the student to use various writing operations.

Figure 6

"The Purse Snatcher"

A

1. A woman is shopping.
2. She is middle aged.
3. The shopping is for a hat.
4. The hat is to wear to a wedding.

1. A man appears.
2. The appearance is sudden.
3. The man looks sinister.

1. The man is a thief.
2. He is a professional.
3. His victims are usually women.
4. The women are middle-aged.

B

1. The man grabs her purse.
2. Her purse is in her shopping basket.
3. He quickly turns.
4. He runs away.

1. In the meantime, a man is sitting on a bench.
2. He is elderly.
3. He looks distinguished.
4. He is leaning on his cane.

1. The old man sees the purse-snatcher.
2. He hears the woman.
3. The woman is shouting, "Stop that man!"

C

1. The thief runs in front of the bench.
2. The old man trips him.
3. The tripping is with his cane.
4. The thief falls to the ground.

(When combining 1 and 2, use a word like *as* or *when*.)

D

1. A policeman arrives.
2. The arrival is quick.
3. The policeman arrests the thief.
4. The thief doesn't resist.

1. The woman thanks the old man.
2. She is grateful.
3. She shakes his hand.

(When combining 1 and 3, use a

word like *as* or *while*.)

1. The old man helped to capture the thief.
2. He saved the woman's money.
3. The man was alert.

(When combining the above, use *because* or *because of* for 3 and put it at the beginning of the sentence.)[1]

The writing practice based on the sequenced pictures in figure 6 would resemble the following paragraph which includes various operational ways of putting sentences together.

The Purse-Snatcher

A middle-aged woman is shopping for a hat to wear to a wedding. A sinister-looking man suddenly appears. He is a profcssional thief whose victims are usually middle-aged women. He grabs her purse and quickly turns and runs away. In the meantime, an elderly, distinguished-looking man is sitting on a bench, leaning on his cane. The old man sees the purse-snatcher and hears the woman shouting, "Stop that man!" As the thief runs in front of the bench, the old man trips him with his cane, and the thief falls to the ground. A policeman arrives quickly and arrests the thief, who doesn't resist. The grateful woman thanks the old man as she shakes his hand. Because the old man was alert (Because of the old man's alertness), he helped to capture the thief and saved the woman's money.

Conclusion

In writing, as in speaking, students must practice a variety of ways to express the same idea! The overall goal, then, of a writing course should be to fulfill the students' need to express a single idea in more than one way -- for that, indeed, is fluency. These four operations in our writing grammar (inflection, co-ordination, subordination, and derivation) help build up this writing flexibility and provide the teacher with an expeditious system of analysis of writing practice. Moreover, with this categorization of writing operations, both student and teacher gain an awareness of underlying meanings and the panoply of operations available to render these meanings as well-formed, varied compositions.

[1] Pictures from *Progressive Picture Compositions*, Donn Byrne, Longman Group, Ltd., 1967.

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Assessing Writing Ability of ESL College Freshmen

David M. Davidson

College instructors of English as a second language have come to recognize the need for more accurate and efficient methods of assessing writing ability of entering ESL students. This need has been prompted by the rising number of students with English as a second language attending college, the changing circumstances and demands of educational institutions, and the increased understanding of language acquisition and the components of writing ability fostered by recent research.

The expansion of college-level ESL programs throughout the country attests to the fact that the number of students whose native language is not English applying for admission to American colleges has increased significantly in recent years. This increase has been due in part to the general increase in college attendance throughout the country and to the pre-recession expansion of facilities not only to meet the general need but to accommodate those with particular requirements, such as disadvantaged students. Large numbers of immigrants and students on visa have been seeking higher education in the United States. Native-born Americans with non-English language backgrounds are not only seeking admission to colleges but are being supported in their efforts by scholarships and special programs. Open Admissions in the City University of New York has encouraged many such students to pursue higher education.

Although non-English speaking students entering college require training in all language skills, writing is of major importance at this level of education. With large classrooms and a less personalized

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approach to teaching, the student is most often evaluated through written means such as research papers and essay examinations. And while success in college is highly dependent on a student's writing skills, non-English speaking students show the least proficiency in this area

Time is another important consideration in working with such students. Particularly in the community colleges, but elsewhere as well, most of these students have limited financial resources and cannot afford the luxury of an extended language program. Many are part-time students with full- or part-time jobs, and others are attending school on limited scholarships or other forms of financial aid. Increasingly, more mature people with family obligations are attending college. The institution itself, faced with financial difficulty, has less money available for "special" and non-credit programs. The pressure on the instructor from both student and institution is to have the student enter the academic mainstream as quickly as possible. The move towards instructor accountability is one result, with such methods as the implementation of competency-based objectives being employed.

The need then is to train students as quickly and efficiently as possible in the writing skills necessary for successful college study. Recognition of criteria for acceptable college-level writing and proper placement of students would greatly assist the teacher in this effort.

Literature concerned with the development of writing ability is virtually unanimous in identifying the ability to subordinate as highly significant in mature writing. (Major studies in this area are cited in the bibliography.) As children grow, their command of syntactic structures increases, along with the increasing awareness of their environment and its demands. With this growth comes the ability to anticipate responses, make judgments about relationships, and understand and convey more specific meaning. Younger children rely heavily on coordination to convey their ideas, but as they grow they make greater use of structures of subordination. This development is evidenced in children's writing; and a number of researchers have shown correlations between the frequency of use of certain structures and the age of the writers. The "maturity" of adult writing has also been assessed, with researchers drawing the conclusion that the "mature" writer can be identified by his use of certain structures of subordination in particular ways.

This research suggests that an objective method of assessing ability to subordinate in writing could be a valuable tool in helping a rising non-native speaking population within an increasingly demanding college environment.

Current tests of writing ability do not adequately serve diagnostic

and placement needs. They are of two types: (1) the free composition, in which the student is asked to write a minimum number of words on a particular topic in a given time period with minimal guidance in terms of organization, structure, or vocabulary; and (2) the short answer examination, in which the student is asked, for example, to make choices for sentence completion or to detect non-standard usages.

The free composition examination suffers from several defects in normal use, even for native speakers. Permitting students to write freely allows them to use only those structures and lexicon they are familiar with and to avoid others. Such examinations are often graded on the basis of loosely defined criteria with lack of consistency from one reader to another; and grading is time-consuming and often impractical in large numbers. Furthermore, an unstructured examination of this type does not isolate specific writing problems but can only give a general view of the student's deficiencies.

Not only is the free composition examination inadequate for native speakers, it is particularly unfair to non-native speakers, who often lack the fluency to write adequately under time pressure. Having to marshal ideas about a given topic and establish the organization and structure necessary to convey them requires considerably more time than normally allotted in this type of test. Faced with the normal writing demands of college courses--term papers and one-to-two-hour essay examinations on material previously read and discussed, many non-native speakers will do considerably better than their performance on a time-limited free composition would indicate.

The major weakness of short-answer examinations is that they require recognition of standard, non-English, and even non-standard usages without demanding production of the written word. Even if a student can recognize a non-English or non-standard usage, there is no measure of his ability to correctly substitute for it.

A major improvement on both types of examinations--free composition and multiple choice--would be an instrument that: (1) measures discrete, significant grammatical elements of writing ability for diagnostic as well as placement purposes; (2) requires students to actively employ the language elements being tested for; (3) can be easily and consistently graded; and (4) allows sufficient time for respondents to indicate their ability.

I undertook to develop such an instrument for the testing and placement of college-level non-native speakers of English on the basis of writing ability as determined by their control of significant structures of subordination.

In order to identify the structures of subordination most indicative of acceptable college-level writing, I surveyed recent issues of

journals devoted to the teaching or study of the English language, books and manuals on the theory and practice of English language instruction, instructional materials designed for native as well as non-native students, and relevant unpublished dissertations. From this literature I identified the following structures as important indicators of writing maturity:

1. prenominal adjectives;
2. adverbs;
3. prepositional phrases, particularly of time and manner;
4. adverbial clauses, particularly when used before the main clause, with clauses of cause and condition more sophisticated than those of time and place;
5. relative clauses, especially as non-restrictive subject modifiers embedded in the main clause;
6. noun clauses, particularly in positions other than direct objects, although their use as subjects is rare even among high school students;
7. participial phrases;
8. gerund phrases;
9. infinitive phrases;
10. absolute phrases, although rarely used even by twelfth graders;
11. appositive constructions, also rarely used.

After identifiying these structures, I surveyed forty recently published textbooks for college students geared primarily or entirely to the writing process. (See appended list.) In addition, I randomly selected one hundred expository compositions written by entering freshmen--all native speakers of English--at my own institution, Bronx Community College. Each composition was on the same topic and was rated as "college level" by at least two English Department instructors. These compositions were analyzed for frequency of use of the various structures of subordination for practical determination of which structures are found most commonly in college-level expository writing.

Selection of Structures for Testing

The results of the previously described research are indicated in Table 1. All of the main categories of structures cited in the literature (with two exceptions) were covered in at least half the texts and were used in more than half the writing samples. Absolute and appositive phrases were the least cited in the texts and were hardly used by the native-born freshmen sampled.

Table 1

STRUCTURES OF SUBORDINATION IN SURVEYED TEXTS AND WRITING SAMPLES

Structure	*No. of Texts Cited in*	*No. of Writing Samples Used in*	*Instances of Use in Writing Samples*
Prenominal Adjectives	30	100	1313
Descriptive	28	100	955
Possessive Adjectives	8	76	148
Possessive Nouns	7	44	52
2-word Combinations	12	40	56
Adverbs	24	96	315
Manner	23	34	54
Time, Frequency	12	49	70
Degree	11	56	90
Prepositional Phrases	27	100	793
Adverbial-Place	24	52	96
Adverbial-Time	13	40	44
Adverbial-Manner	11	52	77
Modifying Adjective	4	32	38
Adjectival-Descriptive, Genitive	16	84	171
Adjectival-Place	10	64	109
Object of Verb	10	40	58
Adjective Clauses	30	84	218
Noun Clauses	23	82	207
Object of Verb	21	72	146
Subject	12	9	9
Adverbial Clauses	37	85	186
Time	34	33	39
Condition	27	35	52
Cause	25	23	31
Contrast	16	10	15
Participial Phrases	32	56	96
Adjectival	26	43	50
Adverbial	13	17	17
Gerund Phrases	20	58	97
Object of Verb	15	11	11
Object of Preposition	13	40	72
Infinitive Phrases	24	98	417
Object of Verb	14	68	127
Adverbial	12	69	166
Adjectival	8	57	86
Absolute Phrases	11	2	2
Appositive Phrases	12	5	6

All of the other structures cited in the literature were incorporated into the developed test, entitled *Test of Ability to Subordinate* (TAS). Particular forms to be used were determined by a combination of frequency of text citation, actual use in the writing samples, and adaptability to the test format.

The structures incorporated into the test were:

1. Prenominal Adjectives
   a. descriptive adjectives
   b. possessive adjectives
   c. possessive nouns
   d. two-word combinations
      (1) possessive adjective-descriptive
      (2) descriptive-descriptive
2. Adverbs
   a. manner
   b. degree
   c. time and frequency
3. Prepositional Phrases
   a. adverbial — place
   b. adverbial — manner
   c. adverbial — time
   d. adjectival — genitive
   e. verb object
4. Relative clauses
5. Noun Clauses (verb object)
6. Adverbial Clauses
   a. time
   b. condition
   c. cause
7. Participial Phrases (adjectival)
8. Gerund Phrases (object of preposition)
9. Infinitive Phrases
   a. verb object
   b. adverbial
   c. adjectival

Test Format

The test items were written in a sentence-combining format following the sentence-generating principles of transformational grammar. Students were required to take two or three "core" sentences (for purposes of clarity, in some cases sentences more elaborate than "kernel" sentences were used) and combine them into one sentence within a given frame which required formulation of a particular structure of subordination. Core sentences were designed to test students' ability to perform a variety of transformational procedures in the production of the desired structures.

Table 2

EXAMPLES OF TEST ITEMS

1. Prenominal adjective from noun phrase.
   a. The doctor looked at the leg. b. The leg had *an infection.*
   The doctor looked at the *infected* leg.
2. Prenominal adjective from prepositional phrase.
   a. They rented a boat. b. The boat was *for fishing.*
   They rented a *fishing* boat.
3. Adverb from adjective.
   a. They were satisfied. b. Their satisfaction was *complete.*
   They were *completely* satisfied.
4. Genitive prepositional phrase from possessive statement.
   a. *The patient has a condition.* b. His condition is poor.
   The condition *of the patient* is poor.
5. Adverbial clause of time from full subject-predicate structure.
   a. The telephone rang. b. *They were watching television.*
   The telephone rang *while they were watching television.*
6. Adverbial clause of cause from subject-predicate structure.
   a. He does not smoke. b. *Smoking makes him sick.*
   He does not smoke *because smoking makes him sick.*
7. Relative clause from subject-predicate construction.
   a. This is the building. b. *It burned down last week.*
   This is the building *that/which burned down last week.*
8. Noun clause from statement.
   a. *They were sorry.* b. They said so.
   They said *(that) they were sorry.*
9. Noun clause from yes-no question.
   a. *Did the train arrive?* b. We don't know.
   We don't know *if the train arrived.*
10. Noun from information question.
    a. *Why is he always complaining?* b. We do not understand.
    We do not understand *why he is always complaining.*
11. Participial phrase (*ing* form) from predicate structure.
    a. We have a map. b. The map clearly *shows this street.*
    We have a map clearly *showing this street.*
12. Participial phrase (*ed* form) from predicate structure.
    a. John was only *injured slightly.* b. John did not have to go to the hospital.
    Only *injured slightly,* John did not have to go to the hospital.
13. Gerund phrase from subject-predicate construction.
    a. *We will see them soon.* b. We look forward to that.
    We look forward *to seeing them soon.*
14. Infinitive phrase (adverbial) from subject-predicate construction.
    a. *We understand English.* b. It is easy for us.
    It is easy for us *to understand English.*
15. Infinitive phrase (adjectival) from subject-predicate construction.
    a. *They do not live with their mother.* b. It was their decision.
    It was their decision not *to live with their mother.*
16. Infinitive phrase (verb object) from subject-predicate construction.
    a. *She bought a new car.* b. Her sister persuaded her.
    Her sister persuaded her *to buy a new car.*

Several factors were considered in determining the number of items to be included in the test. Since the examination was intended primarily for diagnostic purposes, a sufficient number of items were necessary to determine students' command of the structures being tested.

For several reasons, time was an important consideration. For use as a placement test, either centrally to large groups of students or in a classroom during a regular class session, the examination, including administration time, could take no more than an hour to be practical. Since this was designed as a power test, there could be no more items than could be comfortably handled by almost all of the students in that time. The fact that this was a completion test, involving actual writing rather than multiple choice selection, limited the number of items that could be used.

Extensive pretesting with students of widely varying language abilities showed that 50 items could be completed by more than 98% of the students within 50 minutes. It was also felt that the nine structures could adequately be tested with this number of items, allotting five or six to each structure.

Grammatical and Lexical Control

To limit the cause of students' errors to inability to handle the tested structures, grammatical and lexical content were controlled. Only three irregular verbs requiring manipulation were used in the examination: *took* to *taken*, *came* to *to come*, and *bought* to *to buy*. Three of the infinitives require no change of verb form--merely addition of *to*--while one item requires a change from the third person singular form.

Of the eight *-ing* forms required in the participial and gerund constructions, four require change from the base form (presented as third person plural, future, and infinitive), and two require change from the third person singular. Only one requires change from the past tense.

One change is necessary from subject to object personal pronoun and one from subject to possessive pronoun. One noun must be changed to a participial adjective.

Pretest results indicated that these changes were within the ability of students classed as "low intermediate" and above.

Two hundred and ten different words were used in the 50 test items, counting irregular forms of verbs as separate words. All appear on the Thorndike-Lorge list of 30,000 most frequently used words, with 164, or 78%, appearing among the 1,000 most commonly used words and an additional 25, or 12%, with a high frequency of usage of 50 per million. Many of the remaining 21 words would be easily recognized by college students (e.g., *bus*, *television*, *Spanish*, *football*).

Test Results

The Test of Ability to Subordinate was administered to 148 nonnative speakers to determine overall test reliability, information about the component items and structures, the diagnostic and screening values of the examination, and concurrent validity. The mean score was 25.7; the median 28; the range, 1—45; and the standard deviation 13.0.

The Kuder-Richardson Formula 20 was applied to the test results to determine the reliability of the examination, and the reliability coefficient for the TAS was computed at .95. This is regarded as representing a satisfactory level of reliability for a test with both diagnostic and placement functions.

Analysis of Errors

A large percentage of errors on this test defy analysis because the examinees were free to write anything they thought appropriate. In many cases they merely repeated one of the original sentences randomly, selected one or two words from the sentences, or introduced irrelevant words, indicating that the students were incapable of handling the structures being tested. However, for most of the items, more than half of the responses were subject to analysis which indicated eight basic categories of difficulties: (1) omission of words and structures, (2) incorrect word forms and structures, (3) incorrect choice of words, (4) failure to delete or substitute, (5) use of inappropriate structures, (6) incorrect tense, (7) incorrect sequence of words, and (8) errors that demonstrate misunderstanding of the original sentences.

The most common error found among all nine structures was omission of words and complete structures. This error was noted among the adjective items, particularly those calling for two adjectives, and among the adverbs. On every prepositional phrase item, prepositions were omitted by a substantial number of examinees, indicating a lack of understanding of the preposition's functions especially in relation to the verb. A common error among the relative clause items was omission of the relative pronoun, an indication that many of the students did not have a grasp of that clause structure. Similar problems were seen in the noun and adverbial clauses where introductory and subordinate conjunctions as well as entire clauses were omitted. A problem similar to the one seen among the prepositional phrase items was found among the gerund questions where obligatory prepositions were omitted.

Incorrect word forms were used in the descriptive adjective items as well as with those adverbs requiring the *ly* suffix. Use of the pres-

ent and past tenses rather than the past participle, and other errors showing no grasp of the participial form, were also noted. Another common error was use of the infinitive in place of the gerund form, and there were other errors showing inability to handle both infinitive and gerund phrases.

Incorrect word choices were made with prepositions introducing prepositional phrases and with subordinating conjunctions. Failure to delete or substitute words was noted primarily in the relative clause items where objects were not deleted and the relative pronoun not substituted for the original subject.

Structures were regarded as inappropriate if they involved coordination rather than subordination (found in prepositional phrase, relative clause, and gerund items) or if they changed meaning.

Tense problems were found in the noun clause constructions, particularly where sequence of tenses was required, and in a relative clause item.

Incorrect sequence of words was found in an item requiring two descriptive adjectives as well as in an item testing an adverb of manner.

Several items showed misunderstanding of the original sentences.

One major distinction to be made in terms of the errors is whether or not the student has some grasp of the transformational process involved. A student, for example, who responded to an item which calls for a relative clause (*[that/who] we like*) with *that we like him* may be demonstrating a more sophisticated understanding of this subordinating transformation (even though he failed to eliminate the object pronoun) than the student who responded with a coordinating structure which might be grammatically "more correct."

With certain structures such as prenominal adjectives, the instructor would have to examine each incorrect response to see if the problem is the failure to make the required shift (e.g., to prenominal adjective position) or failure to make the correct change in word form (e.g., *infection* to *infected*).

Structure Difficulty

The difficulty of each of the structures was determined by finding the mean percent correct of the items for each structure. (See Table 3.) Results tended to follow what would have been expected on the basis of the research, analysis of the writing samples, and survey of the texts. The more commonly used structures in the writing samples — adjectives, adverbs, and prepositional and infinitive phrases — were easier for the students than the noun and relative

clauses. Adverbial clauses, which were used less frequently in the writing samples but were the most common structures found in the surveyed texts, were among the easier items, giving students less difficulty than the other two types of clauses. The less frequently used structures, participial and gerund phrases, were the most difficult.

Table 3

MEAN PERCENT CORRECT FOR EACH OF THE NINE STRUCTURES OF SUBORDINATION

Structure	*Percent*
Prepositional Phrase	63.6
Prenominal Adjective	59.1
Infinitive Phrase	57.8
Adverbial Clause	57.8
Adverb	55.4
Noun Clause	48.6
Relative Clause	46.2
Participial Phrase	38.0
Gerund Phrase	31.8

The degree of difficulty in handling these structures would seem to reflect their frequency of use in writing at this level, the emphasis placed on them by educators, and the students' sophistication of language usage associated with more complex transformational processes.

Diagnostic Function

The *Test of Ability to Subordinate* was designed primarily as a diagnostic tool. In interpreting results, we can regard a student who correctly answered at least 80% of the items of a particular structure as proficient in the use of that structure. A student, therefore, who correctly answered at least 5 of 6 items (of the adjectives, adverbs, relative clauses, adverbial clauses, and infinitive phrases) and at least 4 of 5 items (of the prepositional, participial, and gerund phrases and the noun clauses) may be assumed to have mastery of those structures, although in some cases a review of particular forms might be in order.

A student who correctly answered two, one, or none of the items would need to be taught the use of that structure while correct

answers for three, four, or five items might indicate the need for review, depending on the number of items tested for that structure and the particular transformations involved.

Individual test results indicated that the test has discriminatory value among the nine structures. Mastery of a particular structure (the prepositional phrase) was demonstrated by a student at the 16th percentile, while mastery of the most difficult structure in the test, the gerund phrase, was found at the 50th percentile and above. No student had mastery of all nine structures; mastery of eight was demonstrated at the 89th percentile and above, and students with mastery of at least five structures were found at the 54th percentile and above.

Concurrent Validity

To determine concurrent validity of the *Test of Ability to Subordinate*, ESL students who took the TAS were also given the *Michigan Test* and an expository writing exercise, and results were correlated.

A Pearson product-moment correlation coefficient was calculated between scores for the TAS and the *Michigan Test* for the 148 students who took both examinations. The coefficient was .86. This correlation is comparable to one computed between the *Michigan Test* and the TOEFL reported at .89, indicating the validity of the TAS as an ESL examination.

To obtain reliable scores on the writing samples, I employed Dr. Fred I. Godshalk and Dr. Robert Jones of the Educational Testing Service to conduct a rating session in which seven college instructors of English as a Second Language scored the 148 compositions that were written. The "holistic" rating method developed by Dr. Godshalk (see Fred I. Godshalk, Frances Swineford, William E. Coffman, *The Measurement of Writing Ability*, CEEB Research Monograph, no. 6 (Princeton, N.J.: College Entrance Examination Board, 1966) involves extensive orientation by the "Chief Reader" (in this case, Dr. Godshalk himself) in which a number of sample compositions taken from the group to be rated are read and scored by all the readers. Discussion ensues in which reasons for the various ratings are given and readers have the opportunity to see how their judgments compare to those of their co-readers. During the actual readings, "Table Leaders" spot-check the ratings of those at their tables, telling readers when their judgments diverge from those of the leaders and other readers. The Chief Reader also spot-checks and from time to time introduces new samples for further group evaluation and discussion. The method tends to bring about uniform judgments among readers and through twenty years of use has proven to be an effective method for achieving acceptable inter-reader reliability.

All of the compositions not used as samples were rated individually by three readers. There was a high degree of rater agreement, with 19% of the papers having three identical scores and another 61% showing a one-point difference, indicating virtual agreement on 80% of the compositions.

A Pearson product-moment correlation of .74 was determined between the scores on the 148 compositions and the TAS, and a coefficient of .69 was found between the composition and *Michigan Test* scores. The .74 correlation indicates that the TAS does measure significant components of "writing ability." In this regard, it is comparable to the *Michigan Test* and to reported correlations between the TOEFL and compositions (.74 for the Writing Ability subtest and .78 for the entire test).

Conclusion

The favorable results of the developed examination, in terms of its correlation with writing ability and its relative ease of administration and reliability of grading, indicates the feasibility of constructing valid objective tests which ask students to actively engage in writing sentences as well as in a cognitive process required in free writing. Similar examinations testing other elements of the composing process, along with the TAS, could serve not only as a good predictor of writing ability but as a diagnostic instrument for practical use by instructors.

Further, the results of the *Test of Ability of Subordinate* and its moderately high correlation with actual writing indicate that the nine structures of subordination identified in the study are indeed critical elements of overall writing ability. That the degree of difficulty encountered by the students in handling these structures seems to vary according to the structures' general frequency of use suggests several things. Ability to use certain structures may be dependent on the amount of contact one has with them in the language; this contact is both receptive — hearing the language spoken and reading it — and active, as one uses the structures in speaking and writing. There may also be a natural sequence of development of use of these structures for the second language learner as there appears to be for the native speaker. It would follow that teaching strategies might take into account such a sequence.

Recognition of the importance of these structures is particularly vital for the college instructor charged with the task of helping students develop writing skills to a level which will enable them to take full advantage of higher education, perform those necessary writing functions associated with many professions and trades, and explore

a more sophisticated means of self-expression.

The successful use of sentence combining in the TAS — that the technique can be used in test situations without cumbersome instructions to bring about production of desired structures — suggests that this technique may have a wider role in testing. It is also further evidence that production of certain transformations through sentence combining is indicative of the ability to perform these transformations during the normal writing process.

The implication for the ESL teacher (and for the instructor of native speakers who have not fully developed the ability to use certain transformations in writing) is to set about developing the transformational skills of students as a parallel to the ability that develops as native speakers learn to write in their own language.

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Cottleson, Cottleson, Cottleson Pie: Poetry and Verse for Young Learners of English as a Second Language

Jean A. McConochie

The idea of using poetry and verse to enhance and reinforce language learning is probably as old as language itself. L. G. Kelly, in *25 Centuries of Language Teaching*, cites medieval grammars of Latin set in verse.[1] And there are numerous instances of language being codified, so to speak, by poetry: the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* in Greek, the *Aeneid* in Latin, *Boewulf* and *The Canterbury Tales* in English, and *El Cid* in Spanish. All of these works grew out of an oral tradition which an inspired poet set down in a form that shaped the development of a language.

Poetry, then, is not a decorative, non-essential form of language; it is, rather, of central concern in human life. Cleanth Brooks and Robert Warren, pointing out that "every poem is, at center, a little drama," insist that "the value of poetry . . . is that it springs from a basic human impluse and fulfills a basic human interest."[2] Of English poetry specifically, John Povey maintains that it "demonstrates the ultimate limits of language usage; for poetry is language charged with meaning to the highest degree."[3]

However, books written to make English accessible to speakers of other languages rarely show these exciting uses of language, rarely exemplify a literary form of the world vision which is unique to the English language. I would like to suggest that we ESOL teachers make much greater use of real poetry and verse—that known and enjoyed by native speakers of the language, and that we begin by introducing it to young learners, that is to students between the ages of five and nine or ten.

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"But," you may already be saying, "poetry is a highly condensed form of language that often uses esoteric or archaic vocabulary and strange sentence patterns. My students won't understand it." Perhaps not. Nor did we understand everything in the poems we learned as children. But confusion—linguistic and otherwise—is part of growing up, which is the point of the verse referred to in the title of this paper. The verse is from *Winnie-the-Pooh* by A. A. Milne. Pooh, as you may remember, has a number of "hums" — songs that he could hum, or even sing, when he needed reassurance. He had one especially for times when he had asked a question and received an answer that he couldn't quite understand. The hum is this:

> Cottleston, Cottleston, Cottleston Pie,
> A fly can't fird, but a bird can fly.
> Ask me a riddle and I reply:
> Cottleston, Cottleston, Cottleston Pie.[5]

An eight-year-old friend of mine in Warsaw, Poland chanted the hum in order to delay the beginning of a tutoring session one afternoon. My friend, Rafal, had learned about Pooh at nursery school in Berkeley, California, where his father had been a visiting professor for a year. While Rafal enjoys speaking English and adores English and American children's stories, he surely doesn't know (any more than I do) what Cottleston Pie *is*. But he does understand the *bird/fly* pun, and he likes the rhyme and rhythm of the poem. This delight that children take in word-play and in rhymed, rhythmical speech is one good reason to use verse with our young students; we'll consider other reasons in a moment.

Rafal's enjoyment of "Cottleston Pie" led to the use of another poem for a dictation on a damp afternoon. I gave him a sheet of paper with this on it:

> ____
>
> The ____ is _____ all around.
> It _____ on field and ____.
> It _____ on the _____ here,
> And on the _____ at ____.

Although he generally resisted any writing exercise, Rafal was intrigued by a poem full of holes and eagerly filled in the blanks as I read each line:

> Rain
> The rain is raining all around.
> It falls on field and tree.
> It rains on the umbrellas here,
> And on the ships at sea.

The poem is by Robert Louis Stevenson, the author of *Treasure Island*, who also wrote the charming collection *A Child's Garden of*

Verses, from which "Rain" is taken.

My young Polish friend understood all the words but had some spelling problems with the vowels. I encouraged him to guess (which gave him practice on the names of the letters), praising him when he got the right answer. He read the completed poem to me once, then lost interest when I asked him to memorize it. Perhaps the idea of memorization suddenly sounded like work, rather than play. But also Rafal understood the poem and so had no reason to spend more time on it—the mystery had been solved. My purpose, which was to get him to write something, had been served, so we went on to other things.

Anyone who teaches young children will have had similar experiences. Let's look now at some other verse and poetry that is appropriate for grade-school-age learners of ESL (or EFL) and consider some ways of using it.

The criteria for choosing a poem or verse may be grouped under the headings "formal" and "cultural." The formal criteria are these: the poems should be simple and brief. By "simple," I mean that the vocabulary and structure should be within the students' potential range of understanding. This is not to say that they must be within the students' productive capacity. Rather, the structure and vocabulary must be simple enough that a student can understand the poem on a level which satisfies him or her — a level which enables the student to react to the poem with pleasure, not bewilderment.

How much of the vocabulary needs to be known? Erika Donen suggests an arbitrary limit of 10 unfamiliar words in a poem, all of them to be introduced in a preparatory lesson.[6] But many new words will be for recognition only, rather than active mastery, and their meaning can often be presented either inductively or explicitly within the poem itself.

For example, how many Americans know what a *tuffet* is or what *curds and whey* are? Yet all English-speaking children enjoy hearing about Miss Muffet. Within the poem, the meanings are clear enough: a *tuffet* is something that you can sit on and *curds and whey* are something to eat. Knowing the meanings of *spider* and *beside*, on the other hand, is crucial to an understanding of the verse. Luckily, both can easily be taught within the context of the poem.

Bring a rag doll to class, for instance, and introduce her as Miss Muffet. Then ask one of the girls in the class to *be* Miss Muffet, find a tuffet (anything handy) for her to sit on, and give her a bowl and spoon to eat with. Now you're ready to teach the first two lines, presenting them visually or not, depending on the reading skills of your students.

Teacher: Little Miss muffet. Repeat.

Class: (repeats)

Teacher: Sat on a tuffet. (gestures for repetition)

Class: (repeats)

Teacher: Now both lines together. (repeats them)

Class: (repeats)

Teacher: Eating her curds and whey.

Class: (repeats)

Teacher: (repeats the three lines)

Class: (repeats, perhaps from memory by now)

Teacher: Along came a . . . (fingers walking). What do you think came along?

Class: (various suggestions, perhaps in their native language)

Teacher: (showing a black rubber spider for the first time) Along came a spider. And what do you think it did? (pause for suggestions) It sat down. Where did it sit down? It sat down *beside* Miss Muffet. (illustrate) Miss Muffet, do you like spiders? (reaction; prompted, if necessary) The spider *frightens* Miss Muffet.
Along came a spider / And sat down beside her / And frightened Miss Muffet away. (to Miss M.:) Run away!
Now let's do it again. Who wants to be Miss Muffet? And who wants to be the spider? (And so on)

The nursery rhyme is thus treated as a game suitable for five- and six-year-olds. Both structure and vocabulary are presented graphically; the whole activity could be conducted in 10 or 15 minutes.

That, of course, illustrates the second formal criterion, that of brevity. The poem or verse should be short enough to present in 10 or 15 minutes, for children have short attention spans and they should associate poetry and other literature—with pleasure, not pain. Once a poem has been introduced, it can always be referred to again. Indeed, the desire to hear or read a poem more than once is a good test of its quality, which leads us to the cultural criteria.

Once the formal constraints of lexical and structural accessibility have been met, the most important factor is that the verse or poem be worth learning.

It may be worth learning because it is part of the cultural baggage of all native speakers of English. "Little Miss Muffet" falls in this category. In a cultural exercise published in *English Teaching Forum*, Virginia French Allen has pointed out:

> People who write books, magazine articles and newspaper editorials in English expect their readers to be familiar with certain stories that native speakers of English generally remember from their childhood.[7]

The verses Allen cites are "Humpty Dumpty," "Old Mother Hubbard," " The Old Woman Who Lived in a Shoe" and "The House that Jack Built," all but the last being Mother Goose rhymes. So these, and other childhood favorites, are excellent choices for young children to learn. Not only do they present a sensuous rythmical pleasure and an opportunity for fun with words, they also introduce students to elements of English-speaking culture which are shared by all native speakers.

Of course, a teacher can get a good deal of very specific pedagogical mileage from children's verse. Because they are full of repetitions of sound, nursery rhymes are a fine model for pronunciation practice. For the /i/ sound, for example, you might want to use the Mother Goose rhyme "Hey, diddle, diddle."

Hey, diddle, diddle,
The cat and the fiddle,
The cow jumped over the moon.

The little dog laughed
To see such sport,
And the dish ran away with the spoon.

The rhyme lends itself well to illustration—a picture from a book, or cutouts on a flannel board, or young students taking the roles of cat, cow, moon, dog, dish and spoon—six roles in one rhyme—while the rest of the class narrates.

"Jack and Jill," to cite another Mother Goose rhyme, is good for the irregular verbs *come, go, fall* and *break.*

Jack and Jill
Went up the hill
To fetch a pail of water.

Jack *fell* down
And *broke* his crown
And Jill *came* tumbling after.

Fetch isn't a common word in most dialects, so you could substitute *get* if you feel strongly about it. Or you can just explain *fetch* as a "poetry word" that means *get.*

"The House that Jack Built" is often used either as an exercise in relative clauses or as a rhythm exercise in the reduction of unstressed works. The vocabulary load is heavy—"crumpled horn," for example. But it can easily be dealt with if you have, or can produce, an illustrated version of the poem. Another good rhyme for practicing stress and intonation is "I Knew an Old Lady Who Swallowed a Fly," an American folk song. It's a good one to use with youngsters who would find "The House that Jack Built" too babyish, and it's also amusing for adults.

Those of you who teach young children doubtless already use the children's counting rhymes "Ten Little Indians" and "One, Two, Buckle My Shoe." For reviewing the names of the months, you may even have tried "Thirty Days Hath September," despite the archaic verb form and inverted sentence pattern.

Riddles fall in this same category of verses known to most native speakers. You can easily use a flannel or magnet board to present "As I was going to St. Ives":

> As I was going to St. Ives,
>
> I met a man with seven wives.
> Each wife had seven sacks,
> Each sack had seven cats,
> Each cat had seven kits.
> Kits, cats, sacks and wives,
>
> How many were going to St. Ives?

The answer, of course, is . . . one. Some riddles are puns that only have a point when they're presented orally. For example, what's black and white and /red/ all over? (A newspaper.) Children's magazines and seven- or eight-year-old native speakers are usually reliable sources of riddles.

In addition to these children's verses which form part of an English-speaker's heritage, there is a whole range of poems which are lexically and syntactically suitable for learners of ESL between the ages of eight and ten and which meet a second test of worth: these are poems which can help a child to verbalize an emotion or stimulate him or her to see the world in a new way. These are poems that can open some new possibility.

This possibility may be something as simple as a "real" illustration of the difference between two words such as *on* and *inside* in the limerick about the lady and the tiger:

> There was a young lady from Niger,
> Who smiled as she rode on a tiger.
> They returned from the ride
> With the lady inside
> And the smile on the face of the tiger.

Or the new possibility may lie in seeing something quite ordinary –like the weather–in a new way. In "Rain," for example, Stevenson brings the romance of the high seas to a child who is housebound on a rainy day.

What about a new way of seeing fog? You may remember how Carl Sandburg saw it:

Fog
The fog comes
on little cat feet.

It sits looking
over harbor and city
on silent haunches
and then moves on.[8]

You could start by asking children on a foggy day what fog feels like and what it sounds like, and then lead them to the cat metaphor. Or you could begin with the poem and ask what animal the fog is being compared to. With younger children, it's certainly a fine poem to dramatize. A student at Concordia University, who is also an experienced teacher of young children, says she has her pupils creep around the classroom to imitate the fog.

With older children, you might want to try it as a combination slotted dictation and cloze exercises, asking students to think of appropriate words to complete the lines. For example:

The fog comes
on little _____ _____.

Comes suggests transportation: how could the fog come? Ask the students for suggestions, then see if they can guess what words the poet chose, giving them the number of words (and perhaps the number of letters in each work) as a clue. You might even fill in some of the letters. Or you might use this format for guessing:

Fog
The fog comes
– – little – – – feet.
It – – – – looking
– – – – harbor – – – city
on – – – – – – haunches
and – – – – moves – – .
Carl Sandburg

You might also want to try presenting a poem using the strip story technique, which was introduced by Robert E. Gibson in the June, 1975 *TESOL Quarterly*.[9] The strip story is a communication exercise based on the scrambled-sentence format.

To summarize the technique: before class the teacher prepares a version of a story or anecdote so that the story has the same number of sentences as there are students in the class. Then the teacher types the story and cuts the sentences apart, leaving one sentence to a strip of paper. In class, the sentences are distributed randomly to the students, who are given no more than a minute to memorize their sentences. After a minute, the strips are collected,

leaving each student as the sole source for a part of the story. The students are then given the collective task of putting the story together without writing anything down. They must rely totally on each other's words in fitting the puzzle together. The teacher's job is to remain silent, leaving the students to deal with the communication problem. When they have finished, they are given the original to compare with their version; but the focus is on the interaction process.

How could this be done with a poem? Here's another weather poem, this one by Christina Rosetti, that might intrigue a class of eight-year-olds who have learned to read in English. There are eight lines plus the title. Few of us have such small classes, so you might try assigning two students to one line, or have two groups working simultaneously.[10] Here's the poem:

Clouds
White sheep, white sheep,
On a blue hill,
When the wind stops
You all stand still.
When the wind blows
You walk away slow.
White sheep, white sheep,
Where do you go?[11]

The element of surprise in this poem is that the simile—clouds are like sheep on a blue hill—must be inferred from the title. If you don't give the title as a ninth strip, you could ask the students, after they have assembled the poem, if they have ever seen a blue hill (grass is usually green, or brown) and if they can think of anything that looks like sheep. As a follow-up to "Fog", "Clouds" might be amusing.

It might also stimulate a poem like this:

Snowflakes are like shining diamonds
A breeze is like the sky is coming to you
The sun is like golden bright earrings

That poem is by Iris Tores, who, at the time she composed it, was a fourth grader in P. S. 61 on New York's Lower East Side. The poem was written in response to a poetry assignment that asked the students to make unusual comparisons, the only formal requirement being the inclusion of "like" or "as" in every line. The poem is from *Wishes, Lies and Dreams* by Kenneth Koch, the first of his series of books about freeing people to write poetry.[12]

In a second book, *Rose, where did you get that red?*,[13] Koch discusses the use of "great poetry" — including many highly sophisti-

cated poems—to stimulate children's writing. Some of his teaching was done in so-called "Non-English" classes, so a first test with ESL students has been made. Certainly there are exciting implications for ESL classes in his work.

Now that we've considered poems that give a child a new way of looking at the world, let's turn to poems that might help a child to verbalize an emotion or deal with a problem. For children of eight or nine, death may suddenly loom as a terrible mystery. Here's a wonderfully bittersweet poem about a child's view of his own death:

The Rebel
When I
die
I'm sure
I will have a
Big Funeral . . .
Curiosity seekers . . .
coming to see
if I
am really
Dead . . .
or just
trying to make
Trouble . . . [14]

The poem is by Mari Evans, a contemporary black poet. It's a poem for children who are beyond Mother Goose and Christina Rossetti in their interests, who are learning to deal with the realities of their own lives.

Here's another poem by a Black poet, this one about someone who is looking back on a time when he was angry about his life; he's no longer angry, but he's still not sure of who he is.

Cross
My old man's a white old man
And my old mother's black.
If ever I cursed my white old man
I take my curses back.

If ever I cursed my black old mother
And wished she were in hell,
I'm sorry now for that evil wish
And now I wish her well.

My old man died in a fine big house.
My ma died in a shack.
I wonder where I'm gonna die
Being neither white nor black?' [15]

That poem is by Langston Hughes, a fine source of poetry for slightly older children.

Here's another of his poems that you might some day want to try. The grammar isn't that of school English, and the poem is syntactically complex; however you would destroy its pleasure by asking your students to dissect it, or by analyzing it for them yourself. If I were teaching it, I'd make sure that my students understood the meaning of *mule* (a hardworking farm animal which is, nonetheless, noted for its stubborness and independence), and *grin* (a smile of great pleasure and self-satisfaction), and *take something like it is* (to accept it for its intrinsic value, rather than expecting it to conform to an external standard)—I offer those definitions not as models, but to give you an idea of the elements that I see in the words—and then toss the poem out for my students' enjoyment:

Me and the Mule

My old mule,
He's got a grin on his face.
He's been a mule so long
He's forgot about his race.

I'm like that old mule –
Black—and don't give a damn!
You got to take me
Like I am.[16]

That's the statement of someone who has come to terms with his identity and is proud of who he is.

What can we offer to the child who still feels small and powerless? Here's a poem that can be treated as a delicious secret shared with a grownup who also feels insignificant. Certainly for this poem the vocabulary should be prepared ahead of time: *dreary* and *bog* are low-frequency words that might even be new to your students in their native languages. Doesn't that mean that the poem is really too difficult to teach? Well, one day it might be worth the effort for the sake of some shy student who would find a soul-mate in Emily Dickenson when she says:

I'm Nobody! Who are you?
Are you—Nobody—Too?
Then there's a pair of us?
Don't tell! they'd advertise—you know!

How dreary—to be—Somebody!
How public—like a Frog—
To tell one's name—the livelong June—
To an admiring Bog![17]

Another poem dealing with identity, though from a different perspective, is "maggie and millie and molly and may" by e. e.

cummings. It's ideal for presentation with the spoils of a trip to the beach. Since the typography is unusual, you might want to just tell the poem as a story, using it as a listening comprehension exercise. I would not edit the poem to make it conform to standard typographical conventions—not any more than I would change the words in it. With a conch shell, a star fish, a crab and a stone in the classroom, you could try the poem.

maggie and millie and molly and may

maggie and milly and molly and may
went down to the beach (to play one day)

and maggie discovered a shell that sang
so sweetly she couldn't remember her troubles, and

milly befriended a stranded star
whose rays five languid fingers were,

and molly was chased by a horrible thing
which raced sideways while blowing bubbles: and

may came home with a smooth round stone
as small as a world and as large as alone.

For whatever we lose (like a you or a me)
it's always ourselves that we find in the sea[18]

We've come a long way from Mother Goose, so let's go a little further. Here's another poem written by one of Koch's students:

A verde mushroom
With a morado stem
Started to run rojo
In the amarillo sun.[19]

The student's name is Sedley Alpaugh. The poem was inspired by the Poetry of Federico Garcia Lorca, who is famous for his color imagery. Koch asked his students to "Write a poem about a beautiful, strange place full of colors,"[20] including some Spanish words in the poem. Koch had already presented parts of two Lorca poems in both Spanish and English and then asked the class to compare pairs of words. For example: *verde — green.* Which is greener?

A similar lesson, given at the Lycee Francais in New York, was based on Arthur Rimbaud's poem "Voyelles," which begins; "A noir, E blanc, I rouge, U vert, O bleau: voyelles."[21] From that inspiration, one student, Marine Nicolas, wrote:

I is green and started in a dark forest at dawn, / it's cleopatra's eyeshadow, a balloon you would buy / at the zoo.[22]

As those examples suggest, the criteria of simplicity, brevity and quality can be applied to poetry from our students' native languages, as well as to English poetry, so that there can be an exchange of

cultural treasures.

Here you have a variety of poetry and verse, with a suggested range of materials as well as styles of presentation. The selections are among my favorites. I hope that you will be inspired to use a few of them and—more important—that you will share your own favorites with your students.

Footnotes

1 L. G. Kelly, *25 Centuries of Language Teaching* (Rowley, Mass.: Newbury House Publishers, 1969).

2 Cleanth Brooks and Robert Penn Warren, *Understanding Poetry*, 3rd ed. (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, Inc., 1960), p. 22.

3 John Povey, "Poetry in the ESL Class," in Maryruth Bracy, ed., *Workpapers in English as a Second Language*, Vol. III (Los Angeles: University of California, 1969), p. 26.

4 The examples are drawn from Western Literature. Those who are familiar with other cultures will readily think of similar instances.

5 A. A. Millne, *Winnie-the-Pooh* (New York: E. P. Dutton & Co., Inc., 1961; original copyright 1926), p. 74. There are two additional verses.

6 Erika Donen, "Poetry as an Aspect of Foreign Language Teaching to Children," *English Language Teaching Journal*, XXVII: 4 (July 1974), 331-336.

7 Virginia F. Allen, "How's Your Recognition? Some Literary References," *English Teaching Forum*, XX:2 (March-May 1973), 25.

8 Reprinted in Louis Untermeyer, ed., *Modern American Poetry and Modern British Poetry*, Combined Mid-Century Edition (New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company, 1950), p. 215.

9 Robert E. Gibson, "The Strip Story: A Catalyst for Communication," *TESOL Quarterly*, 9:2 (June 1975), 149-154. For another teaching approach to "Fog," see p. 296 of James A. Smith and Dorothy M. Park, *Word Music and Word Magic* (Boston: Allyn and Bacon, Inc., 1977), a superb new book on teaching children's literature.

10 An astute Concordia colleague, Michael Long, has a further suggestion: "As a reading comprehension exercise in classes larger than eight, how about *two or more poems* split up in the way described, the sentences mixed, and then reassembled and ordered logically by the students." (Personal communication.)

11 Reprinted in David Ross, ed., *The Illustrated Treasury of Poetry for Children* (New York: Grosset and Dunlap, 1970), p. 125.
12 Kenneth Koch, *Wishes, Lies and Dreams* (New York: Vintage Books, 1971). The poem quoted appears on p. 95.
13 New York: Vintage Books, 1974.
14 Reprinted in Arnold Adoff, ed., *I Am the Darker Brother* (New York: Collier Books, 1970), p. 4.
15 *Ibid.*, p. 6.
16 *Ibid.*, p. 3.
17 In Sculley Bradley, *et al.*, *The American Tradition in Literature*, 4th ed., Vol. 2 (New York: Grosset & Dunlap, 1974), p. 95.
18 From *95 poems by e. e. cummings* (New York: Harcourt, Brace & Company, 1958), p. 10.
19 Koch, Kenneth, p. 173.
20 *Ibid.*, pp. 163, 164.
21 *Ibid.*, p. 191. Koch's translation, on the following page, is "Black A, white E, red I, green U, blue O—vowels."
22 *Ibid.*, p. 195.

Hey Teacher! How Come They're Singing in the Other Class?

Alice H. Osman and Laurie Wellman

Singing is a classroom activity that provides a pleasant change of pace, seems to be highly motivating and makes language learning fun. Scarcely anyone will take issue with these notions. Yet, beyond these, what real evidence is there that suggests that singing may actually aid the process of learning the new target language? Aside from the fact that numerous methodologists have advocated the use of songs in an ESL classroom (Fries 1945, Billows 1961, Dacanay and Bowen 1963, Finocchiaro 1964, Mackey 1965) what other evidence is there that the use of songs aids the cause of language learning? The annecdotal record abounds, and teachers everywhere have their own versions. From personal experience, let us record that a colleague from Finland relates repeated instances where songs "got her through tests" because she easily recalled passages from songs which "gave the answers"; other colleagues from France, Poland and Yugoslavia to Japan and the Philippines report on the popularity and effectiveness of popular and traditional songs among high school students and how that interest has served to motivate them in learning English.

Numerous teachers have written about their positive experiences and results in using singing in their classrooms. Ted S. Beardsley, Jr. (1957:48), an ESL teacher in France, wrote that some of his students there could sing a song such as "Frankie and Johnny" with "practically no trace of a French accent". John Eterno (1961:170),

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a teacher in Ronkonkoma, Long Island, states that "musical aptitude and musical training (one year or more) are important factors in foreign language pronunciation success" and suggests that the relationship between foreign language pronunciation and musical aptitude and/or training may be a factor for further study.

A number of educators have attempted to set up formal studies to show the relationship between musical aptitude and language learning ability. One such study (Leutenegger, *et al.* 1965) uses the Seashore Test, which tests for musical factors such as pitch, loudness, rhythm, time, timbre and tonal memory, and the findings show a definite correlation between a student's rating in musical aptitude and his language learning ability. Blickenstaff (1963:360) also reports on the use of the Seashore Test in determining pitch discrimination ability and foreign language achievement, and suggests a hypothesis for further study,—that "contrary to current practice, students possessing the least musical talent are the very ones who would profit most from musical training as far as foreign language achievement is concerned," and while this seems rather speculative at the present time, the preliminary results seem to warrant investigation. Other reports also beg further investigation. Sandor Frigyes (1969) has reported on musical education in Hungary as it was advocated and pioneered by Bela Bartok and Zoltan Kodaly, who succeeded in 1945 in establishing a number of state-wide "music schools". The object of these schools was not to train musicians but rather to have music form the "bedrock" of the educational program. In these schools, the Hungarian folksong literature formed the basis for the beginning stages of ear and vocal training since Bartok and Kodaly felt this idiom most nearly reflected the natural rhythmical and tonal aspects of the living language. Over the years, evaluative procedures by the Hungarian government have revealed that "by devoting much more of the timetable to music, the academic achievement of the students in non-musical subjects was not reduced; the average child became the university scholarship winner" (Russell-Smith 1967:44).

From other sources come reports that suggest that speech therapy for stroke patients whose speech has been impaired can be pursued through a form of singing or "melodic intonation" (Sparks 1974). It would be interesting to entertain the notion that by using songs in a classroom, teachers are training both hemispheres of the brain—the left, which carries the language function, and the right, which processes music.

But even without the conclusive findings of scientific research, we can list several reasons that support the inclusion of songs in an ESL or other foreign language class. Most of them fall under one of

the following three classifications: 1) the purely linguistic aspects of language, 2) the cultural aspects of language; and 3) the "extra-linguistic" aspects,—those which touch on the affective domain, individual and class attitudes. Let us consider the first classification. Carefully selected songs that are native to the language are an aid to teaching the rhythm and stress of the language. They can be a great asset in the teaching of pronunciation—in practicing and mastering selected vowel or consonant sounds that are difficult for a group of students from a particular language group. They are an aid to teaching contractions and phrases that are characteristically slurred together as in "Dinah, wonchablow your horn" or "Lazy Mary, wonchagedup". Songs can be used effectively to introduce, reinforce or review grammar points, and once learned, they have a remarkable retention rate, and can serve as models and examples of correct grammatical structures without the student's having to refer to a book to "check it out". Teaching and learning vocabulary in a context follows naturally as most songs are about *something* or *someone*, and words as well as the tune and rhythm, frequently express and describe the message, the mood, and the subject of the song. Songs also seem to promote the ability to produce longer and longer utterances—even before one can speak the new language well. The muscles of the lips, tongue and throat are exercised to produce the sounds and stream of the new language in a pleasant way—certainly less painful, less tedious and less monotonous than in a pattern drill. These ideas are aptly summed by some thoughts from F. L. Billows (1961: 237-238).

> The armoury of pattern sentences which a mind builds up, if it is fed on songs and continually helped to live in them and stretch its language muscles in them, is a very resilient and readily available collection of language units . . . There is no other way in which we can get the normal, unexceptionally motivated or compelled, student to repeat so many sentences involving the normal mouth movements and rhythm of the language, without weariness or rebellion . . . Sentence patterns learnt in this way are learnt without effort and almost unconsciously . . . they are firmly embedded in his mind and begin to emerge into his consciousness at unexpected moments.

Secondly, less consideration than is deserved has been given to the use of songs as an aid to teaching about the culture and history of a country that traditional, folk and popular songs represent. Songs do reflect on historical eras or events (Scott 1966, Morison 1965). "Clementine" comes out of the Gold Rush Days of the mid-1800's; "The Erie Canal" celebrates the completion of a project important not only to the immediate region but to a significant section of the country; "We Shall Overcome" will undoubtedly always

represent the Civil Rights Movement. Knowledge about customs and culture is conveyed in other songs. For example, "The Riddle Song" is one way announcements of expected births were made in the early days of America in the Appalachian region. College and camp songs reflect their own sub-cultures of more recent times. Holiday customs are reflected in still others,—the spirit of Thanksgiving Day in "Over the River and through the Woods" and Christmas in a vast number of seasonal songs and carols.

Songs can serve as an introduction to the poetry of the language, and as Billows (1961:254) suggests, by selecting songs with increasing poetic intensity "we shall find that we have brought our pupils to the heart of poetry and the poetic way of thinking, almost without noticing the gradation from simple, boisterous rhymes and jingles; the training on them will be seen to have been an essential introduction to the perception of poetry and fluent reading of it."

Finally, there are a number of "extra-linguistic plusses" when songs are introduced as a teaching mode. Student interest and motivation seem to grow as they become involved in making an increasingly glorious sound through their group effort, an effort which produces a pleasing, if not aesthetic effect, and which is *fun*,—not *just* learning—as they perceive it. At first there may be singing only in unison (and perhaps it will even be slightly out of tune), but soon increasing complexities can be introduced: singing dialog songs, rounds, two-part songs, harmonies, dramatizing certain ballad types of songs, and even *creating* songs by writing new lyrics or words to old, familiar tunes. A special group feeling, one of cohesion and warmth, can be a welcome by-product of a singing program in a language class. The group spirit enables the teacher to introduce and promote other language practice modes. In short, a "let's-try-it,-I'm-sure-we-can-do-it" attitude in the class can be developed and fostered by using songs that "turn students on". And needless to say, even the class that doesn't develop a sense of closeness and cohesion can come to appreciate the change of pace that singing provides.

There are several considerations to be taken into account when selecting songs for the purpose of language teaching. Many of them are almost obvious and are equally applicable whether selecting from the vast repertoire of folk and traditional songs, popular songs, or specially written and composed songs for the ESL classroom. The criteria are, furthermore, almost equally valid for all age groups, and generally speaking, they fall into two categories: pedogogically sound, student-centered considerations and linguistic considerations.

First, the tune. Is it simple, easy to learn? The language the students are learning is already difficult and adding a difficult melody to a lot of new words might be more than the students can cope

with. If the students are young, their voices have a very limited vocal range, so the selection of a tune has special importance. Next, how much English do the students know? This may determine the length of the song or the number of verses taught at one time. Does the song have repeated words, phrases, lines, or a chorus so that everyone can join in a part of the song and share in the sense of group singing, participation, and doing things together? Finally, the ages, the interests and attitudes, and cultural background of the students should influence the teacher's selections. And important to note are the suggestions the students themselves begin to make! Even though the students' selections might not be the ones on the teacher's list, the selections will probably be on target with regard to many of the foregoing criteria.

Linguistic considerations should be weighed equally with the student-centered ones since the language is the object of the classroom activity. A general criterion or question to pose is, "Does the English in the song represent the natural language, or can it be easily altered into natural language?" Introducing linguistic changes into folk and traditional songs can be made on the basis of poetic license. However, at the same time it should be recognized that such license is to be exercised with good taste. (Without poetic license applied to songs throughout the ages, we would not today have the myriad versions of many especially popular folksongs.) Finding a song that represents the natural language suggests a few items for a "look for" list. 1) Look for natural word order. If it isn't there, can the song be easily changed? For example, "She drove ducklings to the water" instead of "Drove she ducklings to the water" does not appreciably change the message in "Clementine". 2) Look for grammar points the students need to learn. If the version of "Working on the Railroad" you know starts out "I been working . . . " then change it to "I've been working . . . ". 3) Look for useful vocabulary. If a vocabulary item in a useful song seems to be of a low frequency variety, substitute another. For example, in "Billy Boy", try using *ask* in place of "Did she *bid* you to come in?" 4) Look for standard dialect if that is the target, but if the song you wish to use has a dialect form in it, can you change it? Will using *fought* in place of "Joshua *fit* the battle of Jerico" greatly marr the poetry of the song? Probably not.

In summary, a question check list applied to a song can help determine whether one should use it with an ESL class. Mostly "yes" answers to the questions are good indications that the song is a good choice.

1. Does the song have repetition of words, phrases, lines or chorus?
2. Can the tune be learned easily?

3. Does it have a strong rhythmical pattern?
4. Does it have useful language structures?
5. Is the vocabulary useful?
6. Are the idiomatic expressions useful?
7. Does it reflect some aspect of culture, custom, tradition, historical era or event that is useful for the students to know about?
8. Do you know the song to be one that continues to be sung by people in this country?

We have applied the foregoing criteria to some popular songs of a few years' vintage,—songs that at the height of their popularity, we heard at least daily on the radio, and we offer that list below. It should be noted, however, that because of both complex vocabulary and structure, popular songs are probably best used in more advanced classes. They do have the advantage of being self-motivating as students will themselves frequently bring a record into class and ask for help in understanding the songs on it. Students in one class asked the teacher to permit them to use a record for dictation because they wanted to have the words to "Whose Garden Was This?" A request such as this serves to underscore the fact that not all songs are necessarily for singing but are tests and practices for listening,—to sharpen comprehension, or to provide a topic of discussion that arises out of the comprehension of the question or the dilemma posed in the song. Other advantages of using currently popular songs are many. Students are apt to hear them outside of the classroom,—on the "top tunes" programs that blare out from transistor radios carried in the subways, busses and beaches; on TV entertainment programs; over the supermarket and "jeans stores" muzak systems. In addition, current popular songs provide a range of natural sentence patterns and grammatical structures which students can practice without self-consciousness.

Some Popular Songs to Use in Classrooms

Name of Song and Album	*Selected for*
"Ruby Love" *Teaser and the Firecat*, Cat Stevens	Contractions, questions
"Father and Son" *Tea for the Tillerman*, Cat Stevens	Spoken style, normal word order, present tense, simple commands conditionals
"This Old Guitar" *Back Home Again*, John Denver	Past tense
"Whose Garden Was This?" *Whose Garden Was This*, John Denver	Past tense, questions, modals (*must* used as supposition)
"Old Folks" *Whose Garden Was This*, John Denver	Present tense, present perfect questions

"Blowin' in the Wind" *The Freewheelin' Bob Dylan*, Bob Dylan	Questions and answers, dialog
"Suzanne" *Colors of the Day*, Judy Collins	Present tense (third person and other)
"I Should Have Known Better" *A Hard Day's Night*, The Beatles	Modals, past tense
"If I Fell in Love with You" *A Hard Day's Night*, The Beatles	Conditionals, "if" clause and result
"The Fool on the Hill" *Magical Mystery Tour*, The Beatles	Present tense, negatives
"A Day in the Life" *Sgt. Pepper's Lonely Hearts Club Band*, Beatles	Past tense
"Leaving on a Jet Plane" *Album 1700*, Peter, Paul and Mary	Present tense
"If I Had a Hammer" *Peter, Paul and Mary*, Peter, Paul and Mary	"If" clause and result, repetition
"Where Have All the Flowers Gone" *Peter, Paul and Mary*	"Wh" questions with present perfect tense, future "will"
"Killing Me Softly with His Song" *Killing Me Softly*, Roberta Flack	Past tense, reported speech, present participle

But search as one might, there will still be *some* problems in selecting songs, especially for beginning or low intermediate level classes. Fortunately, there are record albums out now which address the particular language needs of ESL teachers and students. *Mr. Monday* (Wilson 1971) is such an album and there are three additional albums in the series, and although some ESL teachers may question the obviously British pronunciation of English in these records, one only needs to be reminded that in the height of the Beatles' popularity, the American youth did not experience a mass conversion to *speaking* like the models. Two other records, and genuinely American ones at that, also address the needs of the ESL classroom. They are *Hard to Learn Those English as a Language Blues* and *ESL Express* (Wellman and Byrd 1975, 1976). The songs in both the Longmans and Collier Macmillan collections generally concentrate on an isolated structure and an attempt is made to control the vocabulary and story line of the song carefully. The recordings are prepared with the primary idea that providing a careful pronunciation model is important, and hence, for the most part, *all* of the words are readily understandable. And all of the albums have notes for teachers explaining how the authors feel the songs can be used most effectively.

Once the song selections have been made, there remains the

question of *how* to use them in the classroom. To address this question, we offer our readers "ten timely tips" for teaching with songs.

1) If you're shy, "can't sing a note," unsure of your musical talents, use recordings! Have students prepare a record selection and present it to the class having students who play instruments perform for the class. Use a simple rhythm instrument such as a tambourine for accompaniement,—or both you and the students can play home-made rhythm instruments, and RELAX!

2) Help students build their confidence in their ability to decode the new language. Allow them to use their intuitions when analyzing new song lyrics in terms of vocabulary, pronunciation, inflection and syntax. Interfere only when absolutely necessary.

3) Always introduce a song *as a whole*. Play or sing it through several times. Encourage students to respond by tapping, clapping, or by responding in any way they might enjoy. The natural sequence is to learn a tune before the words, so allow time for this.

4) After the students have a feeling of the entire song, then you may want to break the song down in order to explain lines or words that may be unclear. Whenever possible, examine the lyrics in sentences.

5) Don't let song practice seem like work. Keep it brief, never tedious. Keep it spontaneous. Never force a student to sing.

6) Try different musical styles,—folk, rock, calypso! And important to remember: ask *students* what *they* like.

7) Try dividing the group into sections for two-part songs such as question-answer and other dialog songs. Try using a student leader for each group. This is a good way to take the focus off the teacher.

8) Have students pantomime some of the actions in the songs. This assists less-adept students in their comprehension.

9) Try writing original words to an existing song. Students can do this as an individual writing project, or you may wish to work with the group as a class project. You might also try writing songs of your own.

10) Songs are frequently used as a follow-up activity after a new structure has been introduced. However, on occasion, you might also want to try playing or singing a new song without any explanation. This would serve as a good motivation for a lesson which deals with a new structure or vocabulary.

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Reaching for the Child in the Adult: Role-playing in Language Learning

Mary E. Hines

Teaching adults English as a second language is difficult because for adults learning a second language is difficult. Many variables contribute to the general recognition that children learn more than one language with ease, but one aspect is the flexibility a child's ego has. William Moulton (1970) describes the shift away from the child's curiosity and excitement about all languages that an adolescent experiences. Suddenly his first language becomes the standard from which all other languages are "judged," and inherent in that shift is a parameter that defines a person's self, a self that can be threatened in a dependent situation. In adult second language learning, there is a need to recover child-like creativity. In helping adults achieve relaxation to capitalize on the creative fun of the child's flexible ego, role-playing is a valuable second language classroom activity.

It is not that role-playing is simply a light activity which is a pleasure to turn to at the end of a long day, at the end of a series of drills and exercises. It is that. It is relief. But at the same time it is a positive activity that enhances learning, for it touches on the very core of language that calls for receiving and sending messages. It evokes concepts and provides practice in generating, under pressure, English words for those concepts. It is an activity distinct from and beyond those which allow students to respond to controlled questions or those that allow students to read and reflect upon English leisurely.

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By calling forth the child's creativity and by evoking the dynamics of acting, role-playing provides a protective mask; it releases inhibitions and in so doing encourages the psychology of humor. There are many concomitant learning advantages: it allows students to express themselves while it exposes them to American culture. It helps resolve culture conflicts. It brings into the classroom all the unpredictable pressures of the outside world which call for immediate comprehension and response. It generates language, it enhances retention.

How is all this accomplished? And isn't it a lot to expect? It is not if certain pedagogical threads are drawn together and become unentangled in the course of class acting. One is the basic tenet that for students to understand and retain language it must be sensible. Yet it is difficult to guarantee that language chosen for study for a class of twenty will be all that meaningful for all students at the same time – unless they are all involved in a situation that for them is real at the moment. A skit, a piece of improvisation, a play provide this reality. Again, except for the inveterate extrovert, adult second language learners tend to be slow and faltering in their early use of English, often simply because they are self-conscious and do not want to expose themsleves to the laughter of other students (a not infrequent occurrence) or the affected tolerance of a teacher (whether real or imagined). But if a student is given the mask of a character to hide behind, any mistake, any correction is addressed to the character and is tolerated by the student. For five or ten minutes, it is not Mr. Ramirez stumbling with faulty intonation. It is the Waiter in a skit. And that Waiter can be criticized and corrected. Mr. Ramirez takes notes of those criticisms and corrections and assimilates them, for he was not preoccupied in the first place by the thought of Mr. Ramirez making mistakes in front of a group.

With this protective mask and the likelihood of retaining language because it was used appropriately in a recognizeable situation, the student relaxes and eventually generates his own language so that the language shared by an acting group becomes the text to work from. Whether words come from lapses in situations where lines are given or from attempts to say something in an improvisational piece, a student's language becomes the class corpus. And because it was needed and reached for in a context, the word or idiom supplied by the teacher is accepted and remembered and becomes lasting.

To feel free enough to generate language, still with a protective mask, students need to feel comfortable with the culture their new language reflects. For if they don't feel comfortable with a given culture, they will be impervious to the language which reflects it. Again, it is role-playing in the safety of the class which is a prime

vehicle for both instruction and resolution.

Role-playing can be instructive in several ways but two chief goals are to provide language in context and to present *in* class events which might affect students out of class. Teaching vocabulary, for instance, is a matter of giving students the words which they attempted and missed. Either they used their first language, or misused a word form, or used several English words for an idea that a native speaker would have expressed in a briefer idiom. It is the teacher-director who will step in after a two or three minute segment and supply the appropriate expression.

As important as any literal word for students is the feeling at ease with American culture, and role-playing in the class helps achieve this. First, it helps with sheer survival. If, for example, the neighborhood where students live is in the midst of a debate or a protest or a strike, structuring a situation that calls for various positions in the contest very simply lets the students know what is going on. A skit demonstrating a union boycott of a store and calling for students to be for and against the boycott introduces them to the conflict. It also lets them know if they choose to cross a picket line why neighbors might glare at them.

More day-to-day survival can be helped with scenes that call for someone to stand in an express line at a supermarket with a cartload of several items or to get on a bus with a dollar bill when the bus driver will take change only. It is in acquiring the skills to initiate and respond to language under pressure that students need practice and guidance, in order to increase their chances of liking and being liked by people they meet in day-to-day life.

There is no doubt that success in day-to-day encounters outside the class will encourage a student to learn more language. Failure or frustration in day-to-day encounters will inhibit or become absolute impediments to language learning. Again, role-playing is a viable, economic means of resolving conflict, changing perceptions, or encouraging recognition of other perceptions. If students are having trouble with a school's English proficiency requirements, or if students are having trouble with a city's bureaucracy, assuming roles of the protagonists (in order to ensure they do not remain antagonists in real life) gives students a chance to examine their attitudes and, in the course of acting, the attitudes of a civil servant they have to deal with. Not only does understanding frequently occur as social worker/client actors resolve a work related problem. Often the anger and frustration a student has experienced is actually released and resolved in a safe atmosphere. The language he learned and the perceptions he shared in the process of acting help him with his next confrontation with representatives of his new culture.

How and when is all this done when you have "grammar" to "cover?" Part of the answer, of course, is that grammar "covered" will come to nought if students can't use the language. Role-playing lets them use it. But they need not use it haphazardly if the teacher does some thinking and selecting ahead of time. That is, there should be some difference between an hour's language class and having a conversation at work. Very specifically, role-playing activities should elicit the vocabulary and structures a given class is studying. They can be used with students at the very beginning level. After practicing the verb *to be* and *this* and *that*, students can become characters in a skit, be given exact lines, and argue about a fly in the soup in a restaurant (Hines, 1972).
E.g.:

Customer: That's a fly!
Waiter: No, it isn't.
Customer: Yes, it is!
Waiter: No, it *isn't!*

The exchange here reflects something that should be inherent in all play acting activities — that there be a conflict, that there be some *reason* why students are using the same structure repeatedly. For this reason, traditional dialogues are often not that valuable for class use, for the other half of a text book dialogue about a post-office exchange learned by a student is not usually met by the student once he leaves a language class. There are exceptions. Dialogues which call for contrastive stress, for example, can demonstrate the wide range and use of stress and intonation in communication.
E.g.:

A: O.K. I'll see you at Hartley's at eight.
B: No, no! I'll see you at *Mary's* at *nine.*

A teacher-written skit with repeated use of a structure which has been presented and practiced is one of the best role-playing activities for beginning and intermediate students. Frequently, student-written skits are valuable. Once a class has become familiar with role-playing they can be assigned a situation with a conflict and be told to write the lines and stage directions.
E.g.:

"It's a beautiful spring day. You are in the cafeteria just before class. A friend comes up and says, 'Let's go to the park.' What's the conversation?"

Students enjoy writing and their original work is a good place to correct language and supply idioms. When a whole class has been assigned a skit, the teacher can select one or two of the best, have the

writer select and direct actors outside of class and at the beginning of the next class present his skit. Improvisation, genuine or controlled (an *oxymoron*) benefits all students, but especially those at the intermediate and advanced levels. Activities can be controlled in two ways. One is the practice of giving the actor a card which describes his personality and gives suggested lines, but lines that are not in a logical order. That is, although they coincide with lines given other characters, they are scrambled and students have to listen carefully to select an appropriate response from one of many possibilities. For example:

An Automobile Accident

Taxi driver	*Suggested lines*
You saw the traffic light change from green to red. You stopped. A teenager in a sportscar hit you from behind. He damaged your rear bumper. You have a bad accident record and you are afraid of your boss. You are also worried about your passenger. Was she hurt? You are very angry.	The light was red. The light changed from green to red. Yes, it did! Call a cop. What happened to my passenger? You hit me. Are you all right? You hit me from behind. It's your fault. Look at that bumper. Why do they let sports cars on Fifth Avenue?
Teenage driver	*Suggested lines*
You are very upset and frightened. The taxi driver didn't give you enough time to stop safely. Your driver's license *and* sportscar are new. Your parents think you are in school. You are afraid your father will take your sports car away from you.	You stopped short! No, I didn't. You didn't signal. The light was green. I didn't have time. I didn't hurt your car. LOOK at my car. You didn't signal with your hand. You didn't put on your brake lights.

Improvisation can be controlled also by giving student actors their characters, the conflict, and their first lines.
E.g.:

The scene is a crowded bus. A tourist gets on the bus with a dollar bill for two 50c fares.
Driver: You need the exact change.
Tourist: But I have a dollar for two.

Genuine improvisation is just that. Students are assigned characters with a problem and left to their own imagination and language to solve it. Clearly there are gradations of difficulties within the

range of dialogues, skits, and improvisations, but all varieties are possible with any given class at any level of proficiency. A skit with prescribed lines may have been given to beginning students. Once it has been performed, students can be instructed to be the same character and know what *they* would say in that situation. Two characters from among many in a skit can be chosen and an original dialogue can be constructed by students for those two alone. An intermediate class can begin with improvisation and a teacher taking note of when and why communication broke down can determine items of grammar to teach and then embed new structures in a skit. A popular step with all these activities is one that calls for students to *mime* the lines of a skit or the actions in improvisation. The calling of attention away from words and focusing on gestures and body language immediately relaxes the group and subsequently makes verbal language easier. Concentration on the non-verbal increases verbal fluency.

Whatever role-playing activities a teacher chooses, he must keep several things in mind. He wants a situation that will evoke the structure he has been working with, with his class. He does not want new vocabulary to be so great and frequent that communication is needlessly impeded. He does not want all students speaking at once. (A reminder that the conventions of conversation ordinarily call for listening and responding is usually sufficient to quiet an excited class). But, that excitement is at the same time the return to the child's unself-consciousness mentioned earlier. Students forget themselves. And while they are free and receptive, the goal to be sought is including in the class the unpredictable language students encounter outside the class. The more experience they have in responding to English words and tones, the more readily they will respond to others when they are not in class and that experience leads in turn to a greater expansion and refinement of words and structure. The acquisition of language implicit in this spiralling process contributes greatly to speakers of English as a second language becoming genuinely bilingual.

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Language Programs for Southeast Asian Students: A Report on New York State

Patricia C. DeLany and
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When the U.S. government opened its arms to Vietnamese refugees following the Vietnam War, local school districts throughout the country were confronted with many new educational challenges. Districts in New York State were no exception. As was true in most other states, resettled Vietnamese refugees have been widely scattered across New York State, with the only major concentration found in New York City. At the elementary and secondary levels, the refugee students have been enrolled in about 150 of our 750 school districts, with few districts having more than an average of five children scattered through the K-12th grades. Outside New York City, the largest concentrations were in Rochester, Syracuse, Jamestown, and Binghamton — except for one small rural district in the north country that enrolled 19 children. Teachers in the many school districts that had not needed previously to provide English as a Second Language (ESL) programs, or to try to understand and cope with cultural differences, developed new skills and appreciations that will make them better teachers for all children. In general, most teachers who have been working with refugee children have reported that it has been a most satisfying experience.

Most Americans have not heard of the USAID educational assistance program to South Vietnam — about the schools and colleges that were built or rebuilt or the millions of copies of textbooks that were written, printed, and distributed — especially at the elementary

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school level, including some excellent texts in mathematics. An examination of such books indicated clearly the generally higher level of competency expected grade by grade in a subject such as mathematics. One didn't find any "new" math — which may be fortunate as we ourselves move from the old math, to the new math, and now to the "after" math — in which Vietnamese refugees now find themselves.

Although early stages of school reform were underway as the result of AID-sponsored projects at all levels, the basic pattern remained much the same as inherited from the French with a 5-4-3 organization for the 12-year program — which, according to recent reports has now become a 5-5 organization, matching that in North Vietnam. The enrollments rose steadily and rapidly during the 1960's with many schools operating on double sessions. In the Saigon area, most public schools were on triple session from 7 a.m. to 7 p.m., and students were visible in the cities and in the Delta areas on the way to or from schools throughout the day. Large secondary schools enrolling 4,000-5,000 boys or girls were common in Saigon, Cholon, and cities in the Delta — Can Tho, Long Xuyen, and Vinh Long. Master schedules for such schools on multiple sessions reflected, in themselves, fascinating exercises in logistics.

Invariably, class sizes were large, generally at least double those in our schools, and the mode of instruction was teacher-centered. The teacher lectured, using the blackboard as the only visual, and the students took notes or copied material from the blackboard. A few teachers who had received some training here could be found trying to have some participatory activities, but most soon reverted back to the usual pattern.

The language problem proved the most common barrier for the first wave of Vietnamese refugees. However, one factor that has helped Vietnamese refugees to some extent is the fact that the Vietnamese language was romanized by missionaries over the past three centuries. Interestingly, they found it necessary to use Portugese diacritics to represent tones and some vowels. Children are able to master our 26-character alphabet quite easily since only four new characters are needed — f, j, w, z. This advantage seems to serve students well in reading and writing, but, since the letters represent different sounds in each language, it is necessary to teach what sound the letter represents in English. Thus, a Vietnamese student might be able to read and understand the sentence, "The dog saw the cat." But, when he attempted to say the same thing, it would sound to us like, "Za zak shaw za ke." An experienced ESL teacher realizes the implications of this problem and resists pressure from the students in an English language development class to move too rapidly

from the oral-aural approach to reading.

One result of Vietnamese pupils' prior experience in Southeast Asian school systems is reflected in teachers' reports that they have exibited a longer attention span and are able to concentrate longer on certain tasks than the typical American child of the same age. While much of this is undoubtedly the result of the teacher-dominated classroom, some cultural factors are also operating that relate to the different concept of time. While the American child hurries to complete a task as soon as possible, the time factor is more elastic for the Southeast Asian.

In addition to mathematics as a strength that teachers have identified in the refugee children's educational background, there is almost always reference to the artistic or creative talents that show up as various activities are undertaken. Specific comments have been made as to the excellent hand-eye coordination, high development of small muscle skills, excellent penmanship, and general neatness in all written work. Teachers report time after time that the Southeast Asian students are very creative in art experiences, and examples are plentiful in classrooms to verify this talent. Again, anyone who has seen artisans and craftsmen at work and their products understands the high value placed on hand crafts in Asian cultures. When such talent is shown it provides another opportunity for reinforcing attitudes on the part of both the refugee students and their classmates who generally respect such talent in their peers. The same reinforcement occurs when a boy demonstrates his skill in soccer, table tennis, or badminton. Negative results are to be expected if a boy or girl is expected to perform as well in such sports as basketball or softball that were rare in most schools in Southeast Asia.

Not all factors have been positive, however, and teachers have frequently reported that many Vietnamese children were shy or timid, sullen, withdrawn, or otherwise not adapting. Many such refugee children have been identified as from families of fishermen, farmers, or small businessmen that left the coastal or mountain areas, but even within this group there are other reports of satisfactory adaptation. Generally, children from the capital areas of their respective countries who had some contact with Americans or those from other western countries, have been more open and responsive, but they also are still typically more reserved and respectful of adults than most American children.

It took some time for teachers to discover that girls and boys should not be paired for language drills or other activities. The tradition of separate schools and the different perceptions of the role of men and women in Southeast Asian cultures explains why a variety of problems exist at all levels, including adult education programs.

Several reports were made of difficulties arising between Vietnamese children from different families. Local school officials were at a loss to explain the persistent problems. In some instances, the problem existed because one of the families was of ethnic Chinese background and the conflicts reflected the same subtle discrimination often evident in Vietnam between the Vietnamese and those who were ethnic Chinese. In other cases, it appeared there were class differences between city, middle class professional families and those of farmers or fishermen. Similar difficulties were reported between Lao and Mong (hill persons from Laos), and between Cambodians and Vietnamese.

Taken in the main, however, reports from the vast majority of schools in New York state indicate that most children have fitted in well and made remarkable progress. Of course, there are major exceptions such as two girls ages 15 and 16 who had not been enrolled in school in Vietnam for over five years. Providing a suitable school experience for them was obviously more difficult than for other students.

As expected, the younger children adapted best initially. There have been several problems with secondary level students who lack competency in English. Students have had most difficulty with such subjects as social studies, English literature, and advanced science. The easiest subjects have been mathematics, art, music, physical education, practical arts, and some science. Students having difficulty with language can well afford additional English language experiences at the expense of social studies or literature which they will master in short order once they are competent in English.

Guidance counselors frequently raise questions about grade placement and marking practices. In most cases, it is recommended that the student be placed in the same grade he would be in Vietnam. Because of the typically small size of the children compared with their American age-mates, some mistakes have been made in placement of the children in a class two or three grades lower than desirable. On the other hand, where childrens' education has been interrupted, the size factor makes their adaptation at a lower level easier than it would be otherwise. Assistance from bilingual Vietnamese parents or other adults is helpful in analyzing these problems, but much more can be accomplished if a competent, experienced Vietnamese teacher is available to serve as a trouble-shooter when serious problems are identified.

One of the most common concerns of teachers in all schools is that of marking or grading the students. We have recommended that they not penalize pupils for language deficiencies. There have been

difficulties when students were given low grades after having been top students in schools in Asia. For the Asian student, this is seen as a major catastrophe and can be devastating in its effect. A usual practice is to give S for satisfactory or M for monitoring during the time the student is seriously deficient in English. In general, successes need to be rewarded and failures soft-pedaled.

A wide variety of accomodations have been made in different school districts to cope with the entrance of refugee children. In most districts, the small number of children who are scattered through different grades has made it difficult to provide an adequate program. We have recommended that the children have daily experiences with a teacher with some experience with ESL programs, but in many schools this has not been possible and a variety of teachers, sponsors, or other volunteers have been used. Most of these individuals have learned as they have gone along, helped the most by the materials made available from the National Indochinese Clearinghouse (Center for Applied Linguistics, 1611 North Kent Street, Arlington, Virginia 22209). Some of the most effective volunteers who have served as aides or tutors have been persons who spent some time in Vietnam or some other Asian country and who have strong empathy for the refugees.

Experienced ESL teachers, when available in a school district, have usually dealt mainly with Spanish-speaking children or occasionally those from other European countries or from non-Asian countries. These teachers have found the normal beginning ESL activities and materials are useful and effective. The different sound systems, however, have required extensive use of aural/oral/visual procedures with the sounds always used in words and the words in sentences. This stress on sentence patterns has been a common practice because of the differences between the patterns in the two languages. Teachers early discovered also that the Vietnamese language does not use articles or prepositions and that extra stress needed to be placed on such differences. Most teachers made effective use of visual aids such as antonym cards, ESL development kits, rhyming pictures, and so forth.

There have been several types of language programs developed throughout New York State. While some bilingual programs have been established, the main thrust has been in ESL, dictated in part by a lack of bilingual teachers or aides, but primarily because ESL has been the preference of parents.

An example of such a program is one in Syracuse where an ESL Center has been set up as part of a Special Needs Program. With parents' approval, the center concept was initiated in preference to a tutorial approach in the students' home schools. Approximately

100 refugee students from the city and surrounding suburban districts have attended the program since its inception in September, 1975. The problems faced by the children attending the center have been numerous, but the successes have far outweighed the failures.

In the fall of 1975 our ESL students were all Vietnamese and Cambodian, and most were in elementary school. We began with a single morning session. By January of 1976 our growing numbers necessitated another session. Other school districts requested that we accept their students and in March families began arriving in Syracuse from Laos. While these families were not as yet designated refugees, they were brought into the program. Two assistants and a teacher were then working with students, ages 1-18, from three Southeast Asian countries, having varied levels of English. The students' families came from every extreme of Vietnamese, Cambodian and Laotian society — from the highly educated interpreter to the illiterate fisherman, from those well-acquainted with western culture to those who had never seen electricity or indoor plumbing. Educational background has varied from students facile in three or four languages to illiterate teenagers.

This variety has comprised the makeup of the center since early 1976. With such obvious differences in educational backgrounds and needs, and with the wide age span, every possible ESL approach has been used with one student or another. We have made specific adjustments and emphasis to help the students understand, participate in, and enjoy their strange new cultural and educational environment.

Our basic objectives are twofold: to prepare each student to function adequately academically at his level and to assist each student in an understanding of, and a comfortable participation in the new cultural climate.

Without exception, the students' most immediate needs were to understand what they heard and to be able to make themselves understood. Even Thanh, a 17 year-old boy, who could read and write English was at a complete loss when he was confronted with spoken English. Trying to talk was completely frustrating as, although he often knew what to say, he found he had great difficulty with English pronunciation. Actually, the younger children, with no preconceived notions of how English ought to sound, had an easier initial aural/oral experience.

When the students arrived, we went through a name-learning procedure. The atmosphere became relaxed immediately when they realized that the teacher was going through as much of a learning experience as they. The teacher couldn't say Ngoc because she was

unable to hear the subtleties of the Vietnamese *oc*. The children repeated and repeated until they were all laughing. That first day the children learned that the teacher knew how difficult it was for them to "hear" English, that they could and should indicate lack of understanding, that no disgrace would be attached to an individual who did so, and that some aspects of English would be learned easily and others would require much more time. It took the teacher about six weeks to learn to say *Ngoc* correctly, and by that time the students understood nearly everything that was said to them.

During those first weeks, the entire thrust was aural/oral: Practice was with experiential vocabulary — identification of things they saw, used, and did daily, using objects, pictures and actions. Adjectives were developed, for example, through the use of antonym picture cards: empty-full, young-old, etc. For rich and poor, there were pictures of a portly, elegantly dressed gentleman and a ragged, scruffy man. It was explained, "This man has money. He is *rich*." "This man has NO money. He is *poor*." The next day five year-old Van was jumping with excitement to tell everyone the words for the pictures and blurted out, "Money! No Money!" There was no question that she knew what she was talking about — in English. Demonstrable sentences such as, "I am standing," "You are sitting," "We are going upstairs," gave the students basic patterns. From these, affirmative and negative statements and questions were developed, incorporating their expanding vocabulary. As auditory comprehension and discrimination constitute the necessary base for speaking, new vocabulary was used in sentences as soon as it was taught, so that the students became accustomed to hearing words in normal usage rather than as isolated entities.

Each student reached the point of attempting to speak spontaneously at a different time. Eleven year-old Thu began on the third day of class. Ten year-old Nghia was the last to be confident enough to try to say anything she wanted. About eight weeks after the class had begun, she bounced off the bus, looked at a teacher and said, "You had hair cut — pretty!" Thu and Nghia were, by the 15th week, the most verbal in their class and are a perfect example of the need for the language teacher to realize that readiness in ESL corresponds to readiness in other areas of learning. The girls are from very different backgrounds. Thu's family came from Saigon, her parents are well-educated and English-speaking, she and her sisters are encouraged to speak English, and her family is intact here. Nghia is from a small village, her mother is an uneducated, non-English-speaking widow, and, while five of her sisters and brothers are here, her older, military-age brother was not permitted to leave Vietnam. Initial adjustment must have been far more difficult for Nghia.

The secondary students, particularly, were impatient for more reading and written exercises. One of the major problems they encountered, however, was that, when they read English they lost contextual sense because they felt the need to check nearly every word in a dictionary. Aural/oral work was continued until a student was proficient enough to look up only the particular words he really did not know or could not guess from context. He was then programmed into reading and writing.

We have spent considerable time preparing for holidays and seasons, providing the students with pertinent vocabulary, helping them to understand customs related to holidays, and explaining the reasons for and necessity of dressing appropriately for the weather. They keep a daily data chart of date, temperature and weather conditions. In January, 1976, when the temperature took a sudden jump from -18^{o} to 30^{o}, they told us it was hot outside. Some had dressed as if it *were* hot, which prompted an interesting lesson.

Music has been an important part of the program. Most of the children had learned several American songs at the relocation centers; they sang "Ten Little Indians" the first day. For Thanksgiving, they were taught "Over the River," which was easily demonstrable, and the traditional Dutch hymn, "We Gather Together," which they enjoyed more, though the meaning of some words was beyond them. They also sang Vietnamese songs regularly, initially with the encouragement of two refugee Christian Brothers who joined us twice a week to assist where possible, and to learn English and American classroom procedure.

We read to the students from the first week, carefully selecting stories and poetry which used at least some vocabulary which they knew. The first week, I read "Little Red Riding Hood" and watched the delight as they recognized the words "eyes", "ears", "mouth", etc. We also made use of story records, following a book/record preparation with a film where possible, e.g. Disney's "Peter and the Wolf."

It was normal that the students began talking spontaneously to teachers in the Center before they spoke to those in their home schools. Once the fear and reticence was bridged with those in the Center, however, it was not long before they began to talk with their other teachers and peers. Close contact was maintained with the home school to insure a coordination of evaluation and procedure for each student. The outstanding quality exhibited by every student, age 5-17, was the desire and determination to succeed. If 16 year-old Hang could do 'x', 10 year-old Thanh was determined he could, too. If Tuyet, age 9, did 'y' well, Uyen, age 5, saw no

reason why she could not. In regular classrooms, the same situation occurred; sixth-grade An, for example, insisted that he could handle the same English and social studies as his peers. With some high school students, this was partially true, but only insofar as their ability to read a textbook was concerned. Without exception, they, too, were completely lost in aural/oral situations.

The Center attempted to provide an individual program for each student, taking into condideration his age, background, ability, and present grade placement in school. For initial evaluation the *Bilingual Syntax Measure*, (Harcourt, Brace, Jovanovich, 1975) was administered. It places a student at one of five spoken English levels: no English, receptive English only, survival English, intermediate English, and proficient English. Every student measured non-English speaking. Students who could read English were given the *Random House Basic Test of Reading Comprehension*, (Random House, 1974). This is a criterion-referenced test which place students in one of five subsystems: non-reader, beginning reader, elementary reader, functionally literate, and good reader. Most of these students tested at the beginning reader level, with a few measuring non-readers.

In developing the individual student's program, the Center worked in close conjunction with the home school to assist them with suitable program implementation or adjustment. Center teachers met with school personnel and many teachers have visited the Center to see personally how it was working with the students. Results have been very positive in a variety of ways. Older students' programs were adjusted to provide a maximum of courses in which cognitive development was least dependent upon English, e.g., stress on math and science, and in which social, psychological, emotional needs were best provided, e.g., art, music, physical education. In one instance, three of four children of one family had been placed in grades 2 and 1, at the request of their parents. These children, 11, 9, and 8, were noticeably unhappy, though they were progressing well in English. A meeting of the parents, home school administrators, and teachers and ourselves resulted in grade advancement to peer level for these children. They adjusted readily and happily, and did extremely well. In another case, the teachers of a school, after visiting our program, realized that they were expecting less than the children were capable of handling. They did not, for example, use normal English in speaking to the students, and had not encouraged their American peers to do so. An adjustment on the part of the teachers resulted in an almost immediate growth in confidence on the part of the Vietnamese students.

The Center experienced some difficulty in setting up individual

programs for the students. Obviously such an approach is time-consuming for the teacher. Our major problem, however, was student reluctance to accept individualization. I've never encountered such intense desire to learn, such comparative competetiveness, or such personal dejection when self-imposed goals were not met. We faced the very delicate problem of stimulating and nourishing this admirable intensity and simultaneously preparing the student for successful total integration into his own particular school situation. Realizing that class sizes in Vietnam had been very large, often 80-100 per class, and that students were accustomed to a lecture/notetaking, reading/writing approach with teacher-identified common goals for every student, we knew we had to begin from this strong well-understood foundation. Our initial vocabulary and sentence patterning development procedures provided this common goal approach. It was fairly easy to proceed with approximate age-level groups, where, for example, the kindergarteners' needs were basically similar and the children had not been conditioned to expect a common goal as the measure of success for all. The older the student was, however, the more difficult it was to begin where it was most advantageous to him.

We used what could be called a "why, how, when" approach. The inevitable question in each student's mind (usually expressed) was, "Why am I doing *this*? Why can't I do *that*? I must be able to do *that*." Our response was, "Right. You do have to do *that*, and these are the things which will teach you *how*. We'll work with these now and when we finish *that* will be easy." To sum it up, the student saw the most advanced or difficult task to be the teacher-established goal, both at the Center and in his home school. It was, therefore, *his* goal. Rather than discourage the student, we established the steps leading to the goal and thereby provided other goals which were realistic, enriching and satisfying.

The students were inexperienced in self-direction in use of school time and self-evaluatory materials and, while we had a wide variety of the latter, we restricted use of them until we could show the students how such material could assist them to learn and why it was helpful to use them correctly. This concept was developed gradually and individually; each student gradually reached the point that he would do everything he could with a given objective. (S)he then got our explanatory assistance for what (s)he could not do.

Contact with Vietnamese adults was of immeasurable assistance in understanding of both particular and general needs of our students. The parents were happy, for example, to describe Christmas in Vietnam and to explain Tet. Teachers learned that the majority of these families have been refugees twice: from North Vietnam in

1954, and again, in 1975. We've seen examples of courage, industriousness, and faith that are truly inspiring.

There has been no set length for a student's attendance at the Center. Some have stayed full-time in home schools after four months with us. In September, 1976 the Center arranged a three-hour morning session for students with no or very limited English and a two-hour afternoon session for those who still required assistance with reading, writing and study skills at their respective levels. This arrangement somewhat reduced the numbers of English proficiency levels per session and also allowed more advanced students to take most academic courses at their respective levels, while enabling them to get direct language assistance from the Center as well. A number of these students were returned to full-time home school during the year, and all of them are in regular school now.

One of the greatest advantages, in the students' and their families' estimations, of returning to the Center for at least part of a second year, is that, in addition to needing language assistance, many students have wanted more help with cultural understanding. Upper elementary and secondary students, particularly, have had many problems with cultural conflicts. Since these students without exception value their opportunity for education, for example, they are incredulous when they encounter American peers who are, or appear to be indifferent to such opportunities. They have also found it very difficult to extend themselves as friends to peers whose attitudes seem to portray lack of respect for family and authority. We provide regular periods where students can informally talk together, talk with teachers, get pointers about American sports, and so forth. The students regularly use these periods to present their problems to Center teachers. Even after a student leaves, the Center occasionally receives calls or visits for advice in cultural conflict situations.

It is possible that there will be new refugee students arriving in Syracuse. The district has elected to continue the Center. Noting the academic achievement and excellent adjustment of students from the Center, Syracuse schools and other districts requested that it accept other newly-arrived students. By June, 1977, there were students from fourteen countries studying ESL at the Center. We have had 98 Southeast Asians enrolled in the Center since September, 1975.

Those who have taught and known these students and their families have received at least as much as they have been able to give. It has been a professionally stimulating, and satisfying and enriching experience.

III. INQUIRIES AND VIEWPOINTS

156

Introduction

It has been suggested that the most productive research in second language learning during the last decade has focused on three general areas: (1) the affective domain for adults, that is, their attitudes and motivation in learning a second language, and the sociocultural factors that affect their learning, (2) adult error analysis, including studies which attempt to discover that which is systematic and universal in the speech of second language acquisition and (3) child first and second language acquisition. (Dulay and Burt, 1975). We might add to this list the research on systematic classification of communication both inside and outside of the classroom (e.g., Fanselow, 1977), and descriptions of communication from the perspectives of discourse analysis (Sinclair and Coulthard, 1975), speech acts (Austin, 1962), and speech functions Kress, 1976). Finally, there have been studies which provide a framework for the systematic examination of the prospects for bilingual education and the survival of bilingualism in the United States (e.g., Fishman, 1972; Gaarder, 1977). All of the articles in this section touch upon one or more of these concerns.

The selections by John Fanselow and Stephen Gaies are both concerned with the classification of aspects of communication within the classroom. Fanselow also discusses communication beyond the classroom; he suggests ways in which the systematic analysis of real communicative exchanges can aid the classroom teacher in providing activities to facilitate the participation of the second language learner in such exchanges in a range of settings. These concerns of Fanselow's are also discussed elsewhere in the broader contexts of second language teacher preparation and certification (Fanselow and Light, 1977). Gaies' report on the syntactic complexity of ESL teacher-trainee's English provides new information about the nature of ESL teachers' classroom speech and its relationship to characteristics of linguistic input supplied to children acquiring a first language.

The article by Heidi Dulay and Marina Burt, analyzing the errors made by children learning English as a second language, is a classic in the study of child second language acquisition. It was among the first studies to demonstrate that the majority of the syntactic errors made by a large sample of children learning a second language were not caused by interference from the first language, and thus are not predictable by a contrastive analysis of their first and second languages. Although their research has continued, and new findings have been reported elsewhere, (e.g., Dulay and Burt, 1975) the results reported in *Should We Teach Children Syntax?* provided impetus for much of their own further research and that of others (e.g., Krashen *et al*, 1975).

While the Burt and Dulay article examines errors made by children learning English as a second language the paper by Richard Light analyzes errors made by a group of adult learners of ESL. The two studies suggest similarities in child and adult second language learning; both support the view that factors other than native language interference play a major role in accounting for the syntactic errors made by learners of English as a second language. Both articles add to the growing literature on error analysis reported by Valdman and Walz (1975).

There are several texts which provide useful background information on bilingualism and bilingual education in a variety of contexts both in the United States and world-wide (e.g., Rubin and Jernudd, 1971; Von Maltitz, 1975; Weinreich, 1953). The articles by Norman Gold, Christina Bratt Paulston and Roland Paulston address several questions pertinent to these areas. The paper by Paulston and Paulston relates a series of social, cultural, and psychological factors to the questions of ethnic relations, language maintenance and loss, and bilingual education in a variety of global contexts. Focusing on one of the factors discussed by Paulston and Paulston, Gold documents the findings of a study designed to prepare a framework for evaluating community involvement in bilingual schools. Both articles provide the educator with fresh insights into factors affecting bilingual education in the United States and abroad.

Finally, Richard Allington sketches in broad terms some aspects of research on the process of reading, and then offers suggestions regarding the teaching of reading to the bilingual child. In view of the dearth of empirically-based research on teaching reading to linguistically different students (Melendez, 1977), Allington's brief report is a welcome one.

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Breaking the Rules of the Classroom Game Through Self-Analysis

John F. Fanselow

Introduction

The purpose of this presentation is to enable the reader to answer two questions:

1. What are some of the common patterns of communication in teaching and non-teaching settings?
2. How can a teacher who would like to expand the common patterns of communication in language classes do so?

Put another way, we will be trying to discover some of the implicit rules that govern communications in both teaching and non-teaching settings and suggesting some ways teachers can break some of the implicit rules that normally limit the range of communications possible in teaching settings.

There are two parts to the presentation, one devoted to each question. In the first part, you are invited to code eleven excerpts from teaching settings and five excerpts from non-teaching settings. This exercise will help you discover some of the different patterns of communications in teaching and non-teaching settings and thus addresses question 1. The coding of the excerpts presented here will by itself imply certain ways to break the rules we are presently bound by in our classes. But to supplement these, the second part of this presentation contains some explicit suggestions for expanding the common patterns of communications in classes. The explicit suggestions, intended to help teachers break the implicit rules that govern teaching, address question 2.

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I. Coding Transcribed Excerpts from Teaching and Non-Teaching Settings

To describe some of the patterns of communication in the excerpts below, we will code only two characteristics of communications: the source of the communications and the purpose of the communications. After reading each excerpt below, predict the source of each communication. Note your prediction in the first blank space on the right using a "t" for the person in charge or the one dominating the exchanges and an "s" for individuals who are being directed or dominated by someone else or who are peers.

The second blank space is reserved for the second characteristic of communication we are coding, the purpose of the communication. Though there are many purposes for communicating and many ways to classify purposes, only four purposes will be considered: structuring, soliciting, responding and reacting. In the second blank space, write "str" for *structuring* if the purpose of the communication is to set the stage for subsequent behavior and exercises or is self-directed activity such as reading silently on one's own without being told; write "sol" for *soliciting* if the communication sets a task or asks a question; write "res" for *responding* if the communication is a performance of a set task or an answer to a question; write "rea" for *reacting* if the communication comments on previous communications or actions or rates performances. (Bellack, 1966:4).

After you code each excerpt, compare your coding of the source of communication and the purpose of the communication with the coding provided in the key at the bottom of each excerpt.

A. ELEVEN EXCERPTS FROM TEACHING SETTINGS[1]

Excerpt 1: Objects

1.	OK. Now, we'll work on objects.	1. ____ ____
2.	What's this up here? (points to scissors)	2. ____ ____
3.	Scissors.	3. ____ ____
4.	Scissors.	4. ____ ____
5.	And this? (holding up an axe)	5. ____ ____
6.	A axe.	6. ____ ____
7.	An axe.	7. ____ ____
8.	What's this thing? (indicating a knife)	8. ____ ____
9.	A knife.	9. ____ ____
10.	Who put the knife here?	10. ____ ____
11.	What's this thing down here first? (pointing to a saw)	11. ____ ____
12.	And then we'll go there.	12. ____ ____
13.	A saw.	13. ____ ____
14.	A saw.	14. ____ ____

[1]Some editing of these transcripts has been done in a few places to make the coding of some communications less ambiguous.

15.	And then? (indicating knife)	15. —— ——
16.	A knife.	16. —— ——
17.	Who put the knife here?	17. —— ——
18.	What's this? (holding up a key)	18. —— ——
19.	A key.	19. —— ——

Key: 1. t str 2. t sol 3. s res 4. t rea 5. t sol
6. s res 7. t rea 8. t sol 9. s res 10. s sol
11. t sol 12. t str 13. s res 14. t rea 15. t sol
16. s res 17. s sol 18. t sol 19. s res

Excerpt 2: Homework

1.	How many of you were able to do your homework over the weekend?	1. —— ——
2.	(7 of the students raise their hands.)	2. —— ——
3.	I'm really pleased that so many completed the homework.	3. —— ——
4.	(walks around circle looking at work.)	4. —— ——
5.	It all looks very neat—good work.	5. —— ——

Key: 1. t sol 2. s res 3. t rea 4. t str 5. t rea

Excerpt 3: At Customs

1.	Good morning. I'd like to ask you a few questions about your trip.	1. —— ——
2.	How long have you been in Canada?	2. —— ——
3.	Just three days.	3. —— ——
4.	I see.	4. —— ——
5.	And what were you here for?	5. —— ——
6.	A conference.	6. —— ——
7.	What kind of a conference?	7. —— ——
8.	A teaching conference.	8. —— ——
9.	A teaching conference!	9. —— ——
10.	Who sponsored it?	10. —— ——
11.	I don't know.	11. —— ——
12.	You don't know!	12. —— ——
13.	I'm going to ask the other officer to continue!	13. —— ——

Key: 1. t str 2. t sol 3. s res 4. t rea 5. t sol
6. s res 7. t sol 8. s res 9. t rea 10. t sol
11. s res 12. t rea 13. t str

Excerpt 4: Words in Color

1.	(Taps words on charts.)	1. —— ——
2.	He went instead.	2. —— ——
3.	OK.	3. —— ——
4.	(Taps stress for instead.)	4. —— ——

5. instead . . . instead . . . instead 5. ____ ____
6. (shakes head sideways) You aren't listening. 6. ____ ____
7. (Taps stress for *instead.*) 7. ____ ____
8. instead 8. ____ ____
9. Now, tap it out. 9. ____ ____
10. (Taps stress for *instead.*) 10. ____ ____

Key: 1. t sol 2. s res 3. t rea 4. t sol 5. s res
6. t rea 7. t sol 8. s res 9. t sol 10. s res

Excerpt 5: First Day in New York

1. When did you arrive in New York? 1. ____ ____
2. I arrived in New York in the winter. 2. ____ ____
3. Is that correct? Is that a correct sentence? 3. ____ ____
4. Yes. 4. ____ ____
5. Very good. 5. ____ ____
6. Where did you arrive? 6. ____ ____
7. I arrived at the airport. 7. ____ ____
8. Good. 8. ____ ____
9. How did you arrive? 9. ____ ____
10. I arrived by the boat. 10. ____ ____
11. Is that correct? 11. ____ ____
12. No. 12. ____ ____
13. What is wrong with this? (writes sentence on board) 13. ____ ____
14. No "the." 14. ____ ____
15. Good. 15. ____ ____
16. What was the weather like? 16. ____ ____
17. The weather was very cold. 17. ____ ____
18. That's good. 18. ____ ____

Key: 1. t sol 2. s res 3. t sol 4. s res 5. t rea
6. t sol 7. s res 8. t rea 9. t sol 10. s res
11. t sol 12. s res 13. t sol 14. s res 15. t rea
16. t sol 17. s res 18. t rea

Excerpt 6: New in the Neighborhood

1. I've just moved into this neighborgood, and I'd like to get check cashing privileges here. 1. ____ ____
2. Who do I see? 2. ____ ____
3. The manager. 3. ____ ____
4. Thanks. 4. ____ ____
5. Can you help me? 5. ____ ____
6. What do you want? 6. ____ ____
7. I want to get check cashing privileges and the clerk told me to see the manager. 7. ____ ____
8. What do you need to know? 8. ____ ____
9. Your credit card numbers. 9. ____ ____
10. What else? 10. ____ ____

11. Your checking account number. 11. ____ ____
12. Anything else? 12. ____ ____
13. Just your address. 13. ____ ____

Key: 1. t str 2. t sol 3. s res 4. t rea 5. t sol
6. s sol 7. t res 8. t sol 9. s res 10. t sol
11. s res 12. t sol 13. s res

Excerpt 7: On a Tennis Court

1. Ideally, you want to throw more to the left. (said after a serve) 1. ____ ____
2. Try again. 2. ____ ____
3. (tosses the ball and serves it) 3. ____ ____
4. That was a little too far in front. 4. ____ ____
5. Try again. 5. ____ ____
6. (tosses the ball and serves it again. 6. ____ ____
7. Just try the toss *a few times.* 7. ____ ____
8. (tosses the ball) 8. ____ ____
9. Not too bad. 9. ____ ____
10. (tosses the ball) 10. ____ ____
11. That was good! 11. ____ ____
12. (tosses the ball) 12. ____ ____
13. (grimaces) 13. ____ ____
14. That was too high. 14. ____ ____

Key: 1. t rea 2. t sol 3. s res 4. t rea 5. t sol
6. s res 7. t sol 8. s res 9. t rea 10. s res
11. t rea 12. s res 13. s rea 14. t rea

Excerpt 8: On the Front Seat of a Car

1. Put your indicator on and turn. 1. ____ ____
2. (turns the corner) 2. ____ ____
3. That was good. 3. ____ ____
4. I go left here? 4. ____ ____
5. Yeah. 5. ____ ____
6. So get over to the left lane. 6. ____ ____
7. (moves to left lane) 7. ____ ____
8. I can go right through? 8. ____ ____
9. No! 9. ____ ____
10. Break your speed, break your speed. 10. ____ ____
11. There's a car coming. My God! 11. ____ ____
12. Turn now! 12. ____ ____
13. (turns very quickly in front of oncoming car) 13. ____ ____
14. That wasn't too good. Whew! 14. ____ ____
15. Now, we have to turn at the next stop sign. 15. ____ ____

Key: 1. t sol 2. s res 3. t rea 4. s sol 5. t res
6. t sol 7. s res 8. s sol 9. t res 10. t sol
11. t rea 12. t sol 13. s res 14. t rea 15. t str

Excerpt 9: A Mini-Makeup

1. What are we going to do tonight? 1. ____ ____
2. Well, we'll do a mini-makeup tonight. 2. ____ ____
3. Sit over here, will you? (A touches chair.) 3. ____ ____
4. (B goes to chair and sits down.) Sure. 4. ____ ____
5. Well, here, take off that old makeup. (hands person the cleansing cream.) 5. ____ ____
6. OK. (starts to apply cleansing cream.) 6. ____ ____
7. Mmmm . . . I like the feel of this liquid cleanser. 7. ____ ____
8. Well, just put it all over your face, eyes, throat—go ahead—now here, take some kleenex and wipe it off. 8. ____ ____
9. (B takes kleenex and wipes off cleansing cream.) 9. ____ ____
10. Mmmm . . . good. 10. ____ ____
11. Now here, I'll saturate this cotton pad with skin freshener. 11. ____ ____
12. Then you'll apply it to your face. 12. ____ ____
13. (applies cotton pad) 13. ____ ____
14. Oh, that feels so good . . . nice and cool! 14. ____ ____
15. (looks at cotton) Uh . . . uh . . . look at that dirt! 15. ____ ____
16. Well, that shows you that a cleanser and freshener must be used to remove makeup—even if you do use soap and water—it's a must! 16. ____ ____

Key: 1. s sol 2. t res 3. t sol 4. s res 5. t sol
6. s res 7. s rea 8. t sol 9. s res 10. s rea
11. t str 12. t sol 13. s res 14. s rea 15. s rea
16. t rea

Excerpt 10: At a Supermarket

1. What are you all doing here? 1. ____ ____
2. We're waiting. 2. ____ ____
3. Why don't you line up? 3. ____ ____
4. (Those addressed line up.) 4. ____ ____
5. Now, we'll get you out of here quickly. 5. ____ ____

Key: 1. t sol 2. s res 3. t sol 4. s res 5. t rea

Excerpt 11: The One Thing Needful[1]

1. Now, what I want is, facts. Facts alone are wanted in life. 1. ____ ____
2. Girl number twenty—who is *that* girl? 2. ____ ____
3. Sissy Jupe, sir. 3. ____ ____
4. Sissy is not a name. 4. ____ ____
5. It's father as calls me Sissy, sir. 5. ____ ____
6. Then he has no business to do it. 6. ____ ____
7. What is your father? 7. ____ ____
8. He belongs to the horse-riding, if you please, sir. 8. ____ ____

[1] From *Hard Times* by Charles Dickens, Chapter 1.

9.	We don't want to know anything about that here.	9. ____ ____
10.	Your father breaks horses, don't he?	10. ____ ____
11.	If you please, sir, when they can get any to break, they do break horses in the ring, sir.	11. ____ ____
12.	You musn't tell us about the ring here . . .	12. ____ ____
13.	Give me your definition of a horse.	13. ____ ____
14.	(Sissy Jupe thrown into the greatest alarm by this demand.)	14. ____ ____
15.	Girl number twenty unable to define a horse! Girl number twenty possessed of no facts in reference to one of the commonest of animals!	15. ____ ____
16.	Some boy's definition of a horse. Betzer, yours.	16. ____ ____
17.	Quadraped. Graminivorous. Forty teeth, namely twenty-four grinders, four eye-teeth, and twelve incisive. Sheds cost in the spring; in marshy countries, sheds hoofs, too. Hoofs hard, but requiring to be shod with iron. Age known by marks in mouth.	17. ____ ____
18.	Now girl number twenty, you know what a horse is.	18. ____ ____
19.	Now, we are ready to continue to fill the vessels each of you contains so that you are all full to the brim with facts.	19. ____ ____

Key: 1. t str 2. t sol 3. s res 4. t rea 5. s rea
6. t rea 7. t sol 8. s res 9. t rea 10. t sol
11. s res 12. t rea 13. t sol 14. s rea 15. t rea
16. t sol 17. s res 18. t rea 19. t str

B. FIVE EXCERPTS FROM NON-TEACHING SETTINGS[1]

Excerpt 1: Before Language Class[2]

1.	(two students are eating nuts)	1. ____ ____
2	These are great.	2. ____ ____
3.	Yeah. But man are they oily.	3. ____ ____
4.	Yeah. They're fattening too. You see. I'm already overweight and really don't need them.	4. ____ ____
5.	I like these as well as two legged nuts! I like them both.	5. ____ ____
6.	I like peanuts better than these.	6. ____ ____
7.	My father likes them better too. They go good with beer.	7. ____ ____

Key: 1. s1&2 str 2. s1 rea 3. s2 rea 4. s1 rea 5. s2 rea
6. s1 rea 7. s2 rea

[1]Some editing of these transcripts was done in a few places to make the coding of some communications less ambiguous.

[2]Add the subscripts 1 and 2 to "s" when peers are communicating with each other and neither can be identified as the one in charge so that the sources of the communications can be differentiated.

Excerpt 2: At the Hospital

1. Well, I sure am glad you came to see me.	1. ____ ____
2. Glad I could make it—just happened to be in town.	2. ____ ____
3. Well, this whole thing started two weeks ago. I started to get a pain right after I ate and then I simply could not sleep.	3. ____ ____
4. Uh huh.	4. ____ ____
5. When I sat up I was OK but as soon as I got into bed the pain came back. Then, I was so tired all day long that I couldn't do anything. Being tired meant I didn't feel like eating anything so I was just in terrible shape.	5. ____ ____
6. What a shame.	6. ____ ____
7. I was lucky though. Joan was patient. She even sat up with me some nights. I don't know how she did it because I got exhausted. But she kept going.	7. ____ ____
8. You're lucky you married her.	8. ____ ____
9. I sure am.	9. ____ ____

Key: 1. t rea 2. s rea 3. t str 4. s rea 5. t str
6. s rea 7. t str 8. s rea 9. t rea

Excerpt 3: The Remembering Game

1. Here's your big chance, Cookie Monster.	1. ____ ____
2. No can do.	2. ____ ____
3. If you can remember where the other jet plane was.	3. ____ ____
4. No can eat jet plane.	4. ____ ____
5. OK.	5. ____ ____
6. But choose one anyhow. What number do you choose?	6. ____ ____
7. Oh, darn.	7. ____ ____
8. I think Cookie will try number three. Three.	8. ____ ____
9. Let's see what's behind number three! (spins wheel)	9. ____ ____
10. (Jet plane appears)*	10. ____ ____
11. (Buzz, noise, applause)*	11. ____ ____
12. Wow, look at that! It's a jet plane. Two jet planes. You have just won. You get to win a jet plane, Cookie Monster.	12. ____ ____
13. No want jet plane.	13. ____ ____
14. Wonderful, wonderful. Mr. Smith, I'm sorry all you get is a consolation prize of a cookie.	14. ____ ____
15. A cookie?	15. ____ ____
16. Cookie!	16. ____ ____
17. Oh, I coulda had a jet plane.	17. ____ ____
18. Wait, wait, wait, wait guys. Wait a minute. Wait.	18. ____ ____
19. You want jet plane?	19. ____ ____
20. Do I?	20. ____ ____
21. Me want cookie. Me want cookie.	21. ____ ____
22. You want trade?	22. ____ ____
23. Sure.	23. ____ ____
24. OK. OK. I get cookie.	24. ____ ____
25. Oh, I get jet plane.	25. ____ ____
26. Oh boy!	26. ____ ____

27. (Ringing and "The Remembering Game" in print)* 27. ____ ____

*Use "o" to code the sources here since neither "t" nor "s" fit.

Key:

1. t str	2. sl rea	3. t str	4. sl rea	5. t rea
6. t sol	7. sl rea	8. sl res	9. t sol	10. o res
11. o rea	12. t rea	13. sl rea	14. t rea	15. s2 rea
16. sl rea	17. s2 rea	18. t rea	19. sl sol	20. s2 res
21. sl rea	22. sl sol	23. s2 res	24. sl rea	25. s2 rea
26. sl rea	27. o rea			

Excerpt 4: Being Pinned

1.	Let's talk about the girls.	1. ____ ____
2.	Maryann is really losing weight.	2. ____ ____
3.	Did you see she's pinned?	3. ____ ____
4.	Yes. (chuckles)	4. ____ ____
5.	The way you said it.	5. ____ ____
6.	I don't think anything big is going to develop.	6. ____ ____
7.	Well, she's planning on getting engaged soon.	7. ____ ____
8.	Well, I might think of something like that, but getting pinned doesn't mean much to me.	8. ____ ____
9.	Well, that's right before the engagement.	9. ____ ____
10.	That's the first step.	10. ____ ____
11.	Well if you go to college.	11. ____ ____
12.	Yes.	12. ____ ____
13.	Well doesn't that boy go to college?	13. ____ ____
14.	Yes. He's a junior at Manhattan College.	14. ____ ____
15.	Yes, but I mean for other people who are young and who just met one another, they don't think of getting pinned.	15. ____ ____
16.	Oh I see.	16. ____ ____
17.	You only go through it if you go to college and you're in a fraternity or something like that.	17. ____ ____
18.	That's why it doesn't mean anything to me. I guess it would mean something to her.	18. ____ ____
19.	Oh it definitely does. You had to see her. She comes walking into the lounge with no coat on making sure everyone saw it.	19. ____ ____
20.	Did anybody notice?	20. ____ ____
21.	Rita was there and she saw it first and called out, "Maryann is pinned." We all jumped up and kissed her and everything. She was all excited.	21. ____ ____
22.	She's a nice girl.	22. ____ ____
23.	That she is.	23. ____ ____

Key:

1. sl str	2. s2 rea	3. sl sol	4. s2 res	5. s2 rea
6. sl rea	7. s2 rea	8. sl rea	9. s2 rea	10. sl rea
11. s2 rea	12. sl rea	13. sl sol	14. s2 res	15. sl rea
16. s2 rea	17. sl rea	18. s2 rea	19. sl rea	20. s2 sol
21. sl res	22. s2 rea	23. sl rea		

153

Excerpt 5: Two Fishermen

1. I understand you're fisherman.	1. ___ ___	
2. Yeah, I like to fish. Yeah.	2. ___ ___	
3. Yeah, Keisha was telling me and asked me if I liked to fish and I've tried it a few times, but I think I could get into like sitting by a stream and just throwing out and laying back.	3. ___ ___	
4. And laying back.	4. ___ ___	
5. But that boat fishing . . .	5. ___ ___	
6. Not on a boat in other words?	6. ___ ___	
7. No.	7. ___ ___	
8. I've been out on a boat a couple of times, and I just couldn't get *into* it.	8. ___ ___	
9. I like it. I like it. I like all phases of it.	9. ___ ___	
10. Yeah.	10. ___ ___	
11. But see the only phase I been in so far is off the boat.	11. ___ ___	
12. Uh-huh.	12. ___ ___	
13. I really want to get into it real deep, but see to get into fishing real deep you need a car. You need transportation.	13. ___ ___	
14. Right, especially around here.	14. ___ ___	
15. When you get through fishing, you know, you smell like a fish. When you finish fishing, you know, you can't get on public transportation.	15. ___ ___	
16. Right.	16. ___ ___	
17. Because it's kinda messy.	17. ___ ___	
18. Yeah, right.	18. ___ ___	
19. Plus you need all the gear.	19. ___ ___	
20. Yeah. That's where it gets expensive.	20. ___ ___	
21. It gets expensive. And I don't have all the gear.	21. ___ ___	
22. Right.	22. ___ ___	
23. What I'm going to do is just go to the boat.	23. ___ ___	

Key:

1. sl sol	2. s2 res	3. sl rea	4. s2 rea	5. sl rea
6. s2 sol	7. sl res	8. s2 rea	9. sl rea	10. s2 rea
11. sl rea	12. s2 rea	13. sl rea	14. s2 rea	15. sl rea
16. s2 rea	17. sl rea	18. sl rea	19. s2 rea	20. sl rea
21. s2 rea	22. sl rea	23. s2 str		

Now that you have coded the excerpts, you have probably started to see some of the patterns of the sources and purposes in both teaching and non-teaching settings and the differences between them. As Table 1 below shows, the major differences in the distribution of purposes between the two settings is that soliciting and responding account for two-thirds of the communications in teaching settings while reacting accounts for two-thirds of the communications in non-teaching settings.

Table 1

PERCENTAGES OF EACH PURPOSE OF COMMUNICATION IN ELEVEN EXCERPTS FROM TEACHING SETTINGS AND FIVE EXCERPTS FROM NON-TEACHING SETTINGS BY SOURCE[1]

Percentage of Total of Each Purpose	to structure		to solicit		to respond		to react	
Teaching Settings	7		35		33		25	
Non-Teaching Settings	11		11		12		66	
Percentage of Total Of Each Purpose by Source	t	s	t	s	t	s	t	s
Teaching Settings	7	0	31	4	3	30	20	5
Non-Teaching Settings	6	5	2	9	0	12	2	64
Percentage of Each Purpose by Source	t	s	t	s	t	s	t	s
Teaching Settings	100	0	88	12	8	92	81	19
Non-Teaching Settings	55	45	22	78	0	100	4	96

[1]Excerpts from most of the teaching settings were taken from videotapes of classes made with a grant from the Spencer Foundation.

The major difference in the distribution of source plus purpose is that in teaching settings those labelled "t" account for almost all structuring, soliciting and reacting and those labelled "s" account for almost all responding while in non-teaching settings those labelled "s" account for almost all soliciting, responding and reacting and an amount of structuring equal to "t." In short, as the percentages in Table 1 illustrate clearly, the patterns of source and purpose in teaching and non-teaching settings are completely incongruent. What this incongruity suggests is that students in language classes are exposed to patterns of communication that occur only in other classes. If one of our tasks as language teachers is to prepare students to communicate both in teaching settings and non-teaching settings, the only conclusion we can reach after examining this incongruity between the patterns of communication in teaching and non-teaching settings is that we need to expand the patterns of communications our students are exposed to.

II. Expanding Some Common Patterns of Communication in Language Classes

You were not invited to code the transcripts primarily to illustrate some of the communication patterns in teaching settings. Most of you are familiar with the classic pattern in which the teacher structures, solicits and reacts and the student responds, though many of you would probably describe the pattern with different terms.[1] Rather, you were invited to code all the excerpts for two other reasons: to highlight some differences between patterns of communication in teaching and non-teaching settings and to familiarize you with the labels for the purposes so that in this section we can discuss ways to expand the classic teaching pattern with a common vocabulary.

Though Table 1 illustrates the incongruence between teaching and non-teaching settings, a more graphic way to think about the different combinations of sources and purposes is to think of the sources and purposes as items in a two slot substitution table. To contrast teacher to student communications with peer communications and student to teacher communications a third slot can be added showing the target of each communication. In both slots 1

[1] Of course, the proportions of each purpose vary a bit from class to class. Obviously in many college lecture classes the amount of teacher structuring is close to 100%, and in unruly classes the amount of student reactions may be equal to the amount of teacher reactions. But if the class is totally out of control it is no longer a teaching setting! Thus, it is hard to think of any teaching setting we have been in or read about either in fiction or educational literature in which those labelled "s" dominate the purposes of structuring, soliciting and reacting.

and 2 the word *teacher* is used in the broad sense to indicate anyone who seems to be in charge or to be dominating the communications and the word *student* is used to indicate those who are being directed or dominated by another or who seem to act like peers. As in any substitution table, any item in any slot can combine with any item in any other slot.

A THREE SLOT SUBSTITUTION TABLE

1 Source	2 Target	3 Purpose
t	t	str
s	s	sol
		res
		rea

As we have seen the commonest combinations in teaching settings are these.

t	s	str
t	s	sol
s	t	res
t	s	rea

Obviously, since this means that the only source who can structure, solicit and react is the person represented by "t" one way to enable the "s" in slot 1 to combine with the "s" and "t" in slot 2 and the purposes "str, sol, rea" in slot 3 is to have a student assume the role of a teacher. In the tennis lesson in Excerpt 7 and the driving lesson in Excerpt 8 those teaching are not necessarily full time teachers but are playing the role of teachers because of a skill they have and want to share. By having students teach things they know to each other, and at times to the teacher, they are given an opportunity to communicate purposes they cannot when they are in the student role. Everyone can teach something. Some know songs, others games, and still others skills such as cooking, sewing, painting, etc., and all

non-native English speaking students know a great deal about their native land and culture. Since it is impossible to teach most of these things without using language, both the student teaching and those being taught will experience not only the content being taught but also the language being used to teach it. Of course, the students teaching will have to accompany their oral communications with realia, gestures, pictures, diagrams and perhaps even notes written on the blackboard. But while at first glance the use of mediums other than oral language may seem to weaken the power of the activity, in fact the use of mediums other than oral language strengthens the activity. In both teaching and non-teaching settings we normally use a range of mediums to communicate. When the students teach they will have a rare opportunity to parallel this normal pattern of discourse; as students they are normally limited to the use of their voice alone in responses, though teachers constantly use gestures, pictures and the blackboard in addition to speech.

In spite of the fact that there are similar patterns in most teaching settings, there are some differences between teaching settings with different numbers of participants. In teaching settings with around 15 or more, the implicit rule is that student to teacher solicits are not allowed. That does not mean that they do not occur sometimes, and even that they are answered, especially when the solicit involves classroom procedure. But as Excerpt 1, lines 10 & 17, shows, because a student to teacher solicit is not part of the usual pattern in large classes, when a solicit does occur it is likely not to be responded to. Thus, if students are asked to teach large groups, those who are being taught will only have a chance to respond. If the students teach small groups, however, student to teacher reactions and solicits that will be responded to will be communicated, as they were in the driving lesson in Excerpt 8 and the makeup lesson Excerpt 9.

Another reason for having students teach small groups rather than the entire class is to exclude the teacher; he cannot be in all groups at the same time! It is important to exclude the teacher because of the usual role played by the teacher, the role of the person in charge. Teachers usually feel and act differently when their supervisors or teacher trainers are in their classes observing them teach, and there is no reason to think that students trying to teach would not be affected in the same way.

In Excerpt 3, At Customs, and Excerpt 6, New in the Neighborhood, though the pattern of sources and purposes is similar to the other teaching setting excerpts, the role of both "t" and "s" is dif-

ferent. Both the official and the newcomer are soliciting to teach themselves. They need the information in the responses themselves. In the other teaching settings, the students who are responding need to know the information, not the teacher soliciting. Customs officials, policemen, reporters and others who interview all solicit as much as teachers, maybe even more so. But they solicit to teach themselves, not others. To give students a chance to teach themselves through soliciting, they can be given opportunities to interview and find out things they do not know. By interviewing target language speaking parents, store keepers, professionals, workers and others in the community they want to find out something from, students can discover not only a great deal of information, but also they can learn how to learn on their own, acting as their own teacher.

The notes taken during the interviews, together with transcriptions of excerpts from the lessons students teach, made by the students from tape recordings of the lessons, can be used as texts in subsequent lessons in which the regular teacher follows the classic pattern: *t* to *s str*, *t* to *s sol*, *s* to *t res* and *t* to *s rea*. The transcribed excerpts from lessons and interview notes can also be used to help show the regular teacher what the students know and can do—a constant need all teachers have. Listening to recordings of students structuring, soliciting and reacting to their peers in class or on the street or transcribing and reading these communications will tell teachers much more about the students' language needs than the students' responses to teachers' solicits in class or in placement interviews. We have all heard of cases in which students are placed into class level by their responses to teacher solicits in an empty room. The same students who respond with one or two words to each teacher solicit and are thus often labelled as low in verbal ability, can later be observed to structure, solicit, respond and react with long communications a few minutes after their "test" when they meet their peers in the playground, at a bar or in a shop.

While both student taught classes and small group sessions will give students a chance to structure, solicit, respond and react to both peers and the teacher, and interviews will provide students with opportunities to solicit many different targets in a range of settings so the students will not be dependent for learning only on teachers soliciting them, neither of these types of activities provide opportunities for students to communicate these purposes in the sequence or proportions they occur in in non-teaching settings. The different pro-

portions of purposes and sources in teaching and non-teaching settings were presented in Table 1. The different sequences of sources and purposes in teaching and non-teaching settings are shown in these two substitution tables:

TEACHING SETTINGS		
t	s	str
t	s	sol
s	t	res
t	s	rea
t	s	sol
s	t	res
t	s	rea

NON-TEACHING SETTINGS		
t	s	str
s	t	rea
t	s	rea
s1	s2	rea
s2	s1	rea
s2	s1	str
s1	s2	rea

In teaching settings, one party knows information that he wants to get the other person to know or one party seeks to know information the other person knows. In non-teaching settings, information is not transmitted as much as it is elaborated upon or acknowledged. The conversation in Excerpt 2, At the Hospital, under Non-Teaching Settings, shows examples of elaborating on information and acknowledging it. At first glance, the pattern may seem to be misplaced as an example of a non-teaching setting because the person being visited structures a great deal, and one might equate this with a professor lecturing. But the patient is only elaborating on what his visitor, a nephew, already knows. This is shown by the nephew's acknowledgments: "Uh huh. What a shame. You're lucky you married her." The intention of the uncle is to elaborate on common information rather than to give information that he will subsequently solicit his nephew about.

As the hospital conversation illustrates, long elaboration is done by structuring, and brief elaboration and acknowledgment are done by reacting. In addition to each person reacting to both each other's reactions as well as the common topic or referent in the conversation--be it nuts as in Excerpt 1, illness as in Excerpt 2, a friend getting pinned as in Excerpt 4 or fishing as in Excerpt 5--the participants

may solicit and respond. But these purposes are secondary to those of reacting and structuring. If one participant begins to solicit too much in a non-teaching setting, it is changed into a teaching setting. Whether the solicits are made to increase the knowledge of the source of the solicit as in interviews or they are made to increase the knowledge of the target of the solicit as in classes, does not make any difference. The major intention of both types of solicits is to exchange information rather than elaborate on it or acknowledge it.

To provide students with the opportunity to structure and react in patterns that parallel conversations, common referents are necessary. Some referents can be the materials students have read in common. Long has shown that student discussion of common readings without the teacher present leads to a much wider range of communications than the usual teacher-student discussions (Long, 1976). But in life, reading materials provide only one type of referent. As we have seen, activities such as fishing together, discussing a friend's recent pinning or a relative's illness also provide referents. Thus, in addition to providing common readings, we must plan activities for the students to engage in such as visiting people and places together. The reason we must arrange real activities rather than play acted activities is that play acted activities do not provide common referents. Pretending we have visited a hospital together while in fact we have just walked across the classroom does not provide a common referent; it simply makes us imagine what a visit would be like and each of us will imagine the visit differently thus making the establishment of a common referent impossible.

Another reason for field trips is that they are best taken in pairs or small groups. Since we only structure and react to each other when we each have many chances to communicate, it is hardly possible for students in large classes to react to each other even if they have a common referent; students need small groups to structure and react about their common experiences. Often in elaborating we reveal intimate feelings and by definition we cannot share intimate feelings with a class but only with a few individuals.

Both the in-class and out-of-class sessions in which common experiences are elaborated on and acknowledged can be tape recorded and transcribed by the students who participate. If confidentiality is desired, the names can be left off the transcripts. The records produced can then serve as samples of genuine dialogs during lessons in which the teacher follows the classic teaching pattern. Or, those who participated in the peer and small group shared experiences outside of the classroom could share their experiences as well as their transcribed communications with other small groups. In this way, the experiences common to only a few would become common referents to

a few more. And the reports themselves would be a common referent that those listening to the report could elaborate on and acknowledge by structuring and reacting. Dialogs in many commercial texts not only fail to provide common experiences for students but they present language that is about as far from the language of real people as the images in travel brochures are from the life of the people the travel brochures purport to represent.

The pattern of sources and purposes in Excerpt 4, The Remembering Game, shows more variety than the other excerpts from non-teaching settings. For example, Cookie Monster reacts to himself rather than to peers or the Master of Cermonies: "No can do, Oh, darn." And he negotiates a trade with Mr. Smith (lines 19 and 20) involving the prize that produces an *s* to *s sol* and an *s* to *s res.* In addition, we have to remember that the program is produced to be seen. As the jet plane appears to the Cookie Monster and Mr. Smith and the Master of Ceremonies it may function as a response to the Master of Ceremonies' spinning of the wheel. But to some viewers it probably serves as a solicit to which the viewers, acting as students, respond by yelling "a jet plane." And as the Cookie Monster is reacting to himself many viewers are no doubt hollering "You can do it, come one." And some also probably make comments such as "I'd like a cookie now" or "I'd like to win a jet plane."

Two implications can be drawn from Excerpt 3, The Remembering Game. First, having students engage in game-like activities in which they have to guess what things are, what's going to happen next or how things work will probably produce a pattern of communications different from those produced in other non-teaching settings. Many teachers use competetive games and activities to teach language based on the pattern of the spelling bee. But though these are game-like, the classic teaching pattern is followed when they are played. The excerpt from Sesame Street though implies that students need to engage in game-like activities that do not involve the teaching of language directly but engage participants in trying to solve a problem or guess answers. Viewers of programs like Sesame Street, the $20,000 Pyramid, Nova, and even mystery shows try to solve the problems presented before those on the shows do. Trying to put a jigsaw puzzle together, trying to win monopoly or other board games, trying to figure out the parts of seeds under a microscope, trying to figure out how a music box or other machine works—any activity that involves students in solving problems in a game-like way—will produce communications with a wide range of purposes.

The second implication to be drawn from the Sesame Street excerpt is that having students watch activities in small groups will cause them to communicate in patterns different from those com-

municated by the participants in the activity and different from other non-teaching settings. Recording students' communications as they view game programs on television, science experiments, demonstrations of skills and other activities will reveal patterns of communications unique to those who play the role of observers. As observers we are extremely free and the recordings will show a great number of spontaneous communications that are often totally unrelated to each other but rather related to the activity being viewed.

The tapes and transcripts from all the suggested activities—students teaching, interviewing, communicating in small groups on field trips, playing games, assuming the role of observers of activities—can serve not only as material for lessons that are taught in the classical way. The transcribed tapes can also serve as constant reminders of the contrast between language as subject matter and language as a means of communication. In Excerpt 11, The One Thing Needful, Dickens presents the character called Gradgrind as an archetype of the teacher who accepts only what for language teachers would be language as subject matter. After Bitzer's definition of a horse, Gradgring says to Sissy Jupe, "Now girl number twenty, you know what a horse is." He says it as if her experiences with horses gave her no knowledge because he in fact believed her experiences with horses in her father's stable and at races did not give her any knowledge. There is a constant tension in all teaching between these two kinds of knowledge, what Barnes calls "school knowledge and action knowledge" (Barnes, 1976:79). Studying transcripts of our students' communications in a range of activities and settings can help us avoid ignoring what our students do know and can do. No matter how determined we are to not play the role of a Gradgrind, part of our role as a teacher is to be a Gradgrind. One sure way to keep our Gradgrind role under control is to stop teaching and engage our students in activities because by definition a good part of the role of a teacher is to structure, solicit and react to responses we have solicited.

Conclusion

This presentation has been exploratory, not exhaustive. Obviously, there are other sequences of sources, targets and purposes not only in the excerpts presented here, but in others you could collect. There were no excerpts showing people communicating as they observed activities or were engaged with predicting how things worked in game-like activities for example. There are other characteristics of communications to explore as well. The types of implicit rules that govern the patterns of sources and moves govern a host of other characteristics. The way we select topics for conversations, the way we take turns in exchanges, show we are listening, change the

content, disagree implicit rules govern all of these. Some of them are described elsewhere, (Fanselow, 1977).

Just as there are implicit rules, there are implicit purposes, sometimes called "hidden agendas." In this presentation, one implicit purpose, which is now becoming explicit, was to interest you in systematically looking at communications in a range of settings and in providing your students with activities that would allow them to communicate in the ways you discovered. As language teachers, we are extremely fortunate. As Billows says, the teaching of language is the teaching of life itself, slices of experience (1961:17). The more slices we become conscious of and understand, the more slices we can involve our students with. For too long, the aspects of language we have been looking at have been aspects of form. We have tried to discover the implicit rules that govern the formation of words and sentences. Important as these may be, they do not lend any insight into the way we communicate in a range of settings. We have to look beyond words and individual sentences to the sequences and patterns of sentences; by doing this we look at language as living because we see it in terms of the functions it serves in different settings. We see that we use it not just to show we know it, which is what we often have our students do in teaching settings, but to get things done, to regulate behavior, to interact with others, to develop our own thoughts and views of the world, to learn about the world, to pretend and finally to communicate to others what we learn (Halliday, 1973:17). It is these different functions, determined to a great extent by the settings and activities in them, that produce different patterns of characteristics of communications such as the sources and purposes.

The second and most important implicit aim has been to interest you in systematically studying the communications you and your students make to see the extent to which the communications actually parallel your intentions, to see how you and they communicate and whether you and they change as you all participate in a wider range of activities. From my own experience with teachers and from reading, I know that there is a strong feeling that teaching defies systematic study. "Sometimes the same thing works with one class and not with another" is an often heard comment. As Barnes says, "It is a recipe for unpopularity to suggest to teachers that there are patterns in their classroom behavior which can be described and compared with those of other teachers or with their own on another occasion . . . (teachers) believe that their teaching is a unique response to what their pupils say and do, arising moment by moment during lessons" (Barnes, 1976:172). But he also says, and we have seen from the excerpts, that in fact there are common patterns in

teaching behavior as in all behavior.

Evidence exists to strongly suggest that our intentions as teachers and our teaching behaviors are not always congruent. In two studies of the pauses teachers make after solicits and between student responses and teacher reactions, junior high school English and science teachers trained in different places and with different views of teaching were all found to exhibit extremely similar patterns of behavior in regard to pauses. The teachers all solicited in their classrooms at twice the rate they did in conversations outside of their classrooms. And they all gave students classified as slow one-half the time to respond that they allowed students classified as bright. They had not intended to solicit so quickly nor had they been trained to, yet they did (Hoetker, 1968; Rowe, 1969).

Another study which revealed differences between teacher intention and actual behavior was conducted by Lundgren. After recording, transcribing and coding lessons taught by scores of teachers who had been in an in-service program to transform their teaching methods, he found that they had not only not altered their methods in any observable ways but that they all followed almost the same pattern, though before the in-service training they had been trained it different places. In the transcripts there were a number of instances where the teachers told the students about the new methods they had been trained in and were supposedly using; they also exhibited enthusiasm about the methods. But their patterns of teaching remained the same! (Lundgren, 1975).

The classic pattern of teacher behavior has been with us a long time, as we know from both experience and research (Hoetker and Ahlbrand, 1969). It is not that teachers are not sincere, interested in change, and competent. It is not that teachers do not want to excel in their work—I have never met a teacher who has not wanted to do a good job! The fact is that both teachers and students are locked into roles that the setting determines. In a teaching setting, whether it be in a language classroom, on a tennis court, in a supermarket as a manager is trying to organize lines of customers, or at customs where an official is trying to inform himself about tourists' purchases, implicit rules exist that control our behavior. When a person follows this pattern in a non-teaching setting such as at a cocktail party people try to isolate the person and describe the person as "pedantic." Postman has argued that our world would fall apart if we could not predict how others were going to act in a particular setting. And this is precisely the reason we cannot change the pattern of our teaching when we are in front of the classroom; students would not know how to act (Postman, 1976:48). And this

is why that in order to expand the range of patterns of communication, we must expand the range of activities and settings. In most of the activities suggested in this presentation the teacher is no longer teaching; he is released from the role of teacher that demands that he act in a set pattern. He is released from the implicit rules that govern teaching and thus has broken the rules of what has been called the "classroom game." (Bellack, 1966).

I hope you have discovered at least partial answers to the two questions asked in the introduction that formed the explicit aim of this presentation. But I hope even more that my "implicit" purposes have been met and that you will begin taping communications in a range of settings and classifying characteristics of them and that you will begin to develop activities that parallel the patterns of communications you find, and analyze the extent to which the activities you and your students engage in parallel your intentions.

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ESL Teachers' Classroom Speech: Support for the $L_1 = L_2$ Hypothesis

Stephen J. Gaies

Background

From research in applied linguistics and related disciplines has emerged in the last generation a radically altered view of the nature of first language acquisition. The "nativist" theory currently enjoying wide favor claims that first language acquisition is shaped and guided by the innate neurological structure and cognitive predisposition to learn language which are the uniquely human genetic endowment possessed by every child. Language learning is not, as behaviorist learning theory had explained it, merely the accumulation of a series of automatic stimulus-response associations, a process in which the learner's participation is limited to imitation, the formation of unconscious habits based on differential external reinforcement and strengthened by practice, and some unspecified form of stimulus generalization. Instead, according to the nativists, the language learner, whose innate acquisition device is activated at a given stage of maturation by exposure to primary linguistic data in the target language, scans that data in order to discover how certain linguistic universals are manifested in the language to be acquired. The learner organizes and categorizes the data, and deduces from it a set of hypotheses or sentence-generating rules to account for that data and to produce novel utterances consistent with it. These hypotheses which the child forms undergo constant revision; it is fair to conceive of the language acquisition process as involving a succes-

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sion of "grammars" or rule-systems which the learner develops to contend with increasing exposure to the language to be acquired and which he/she modifies at least partially in response to feedback received from linguistic interaction with adult speakers of the language. In all but the very rarest of cases, the first language acquisition process ultimately ends with the child's attainment of the rule-system and linguistic competence of the speech community at large.

There are certainly factors which suggest that the adult attempting to learn a second language is in an irrevocably different position from that of a child acquiring a native language. Furthermore, it is undeniably true, though for reasons which are far from fully understood, that adult second language learning is nowhere nearly so universally successful as first language acquisition, if we define "success" as the attainment of the linguistic competence shared by fully proficient speakers of the target language. Many applied linguists, however, agree with Corder (1967) that "it still remains to be shown that the process of learning a second language is of a fundamentally different nature from the process of primary acquisition" (p. 164). Indeed, a considerable amount of research has provided empirical evidence to support Corder's position. Investigation of the utterances of adults learning a second language both in "natural" situations and through formal instruction suggests that like children acquiring their native language, adults actively process and organize the target language data to which they are exposed. Data is scanned for underlying regularities, and through the application of a number of processing strategies, adults attempt to deduce rules to account for the data to which they are exposed and to generate utterances of their own in the language. Many "errors" made by adults learning a second language are systematic, and they reflect an underlying hypothesis about the language. The kind of error which was explained by behaviorist theory as an imperfect imitation, an incorrectly learned habit, can in fact be more adequately explained as the product of an adult's hypothesis about the structure of the target language which happens not to correspond to the actual rule in the full target language system.

Within the framework of the nativist approach to first (and second) language learning, the focus, then, is on the learner. This relocation of the primary mechanism of the acquisition process in the learner has been accompanied by a parallel de-emphasis of the role played by external or environmental sources, which the behaviorists had insisted were the sole determinants of behavior change (i.e., learning). In the behaviorist view, the child learning language is considered to be enormously dependent on the particular set of overt verbal stimuli to which he/she is exposed; the individual's

attempts to imitate the specific utterances heard and the nature of the reinforcement which greets those efforts are thought to shape the development of a verbal repertoire and thus constitute the heart of the acquisition process. The nativist view, on the other hand, drastically minimizes the importance of the particular linguistic data to which the learner is exposed as a critical factor in the acquisition process. Rather, it is through the innate ability of the learner to deduce regularities and to form generalizations from a mass of unorganized, random linguistic input that language is acquired.

There are undeniably a number of explanatory advantages in asserting that the course of language acquisition is in large part guided by the learner's biologically-determined capacity for language learning and the processing strategies used by the learner to organize and account for the data to which he/she is exposed. Recent research, however, suggests that it is not solely by the learner that primary linguistic data is organized and that to imply, as McNeill (1966) has done, that the language learner is exposed to linguistically random data is inaccurate beyond the degree of mere hyperbole. As Landes (1975) concludes from a review of the pertinent research, "it is clear that adults are not only sensitive to and affected by the need to communicate with their children, but that interaction patterns between parents and offspring change with the increasing language skills of the child" (p. 376). It is the opinion of Landes, among others, that it is therefore a mistake to treat the nature of the actual linguistic input to which a learner is exposed as basically irrelevant to the acquisition process.

Let me briefly review the research relevant to this point. First, concerning evidence for the assertion that adult-child verbal interactions are linguistically different from adult-adult discourse, the most striking is the existence of "baby talk," which Ferguson (1964) defines as "a special form of language which is regarded by a speech community as being primarily appropriate for talking to young children and which is generally regarded as not the normal adult use of language" (p. 103). Modifications of the full adult system in the form of reductions, deletions, and replacements are seen to account for the characteristic simplicity of "baby talk." In addition, "baby talk" has a special lexicon typically consisting of words relating to kin names, body parts and functions, fundamental qualities, and names of animals and games. Morpho-syntactic features of "baby talk" include the use of a diminutive affix (in English, "-ie") which is used much less frequently in normal language, a frequent absence of the copula and inflectional affixes, an increased use of nouns, and a corresponding decrease in the use of pronouns.

According to Ferguson, many informants feel that their use of

"baby talk" makes it easier for children to learn to talk. It may well be that "baby talk" serves as a transitional model for young children as they progress from initial vocalizations toward the beginning of genuine language acquisition. The claim is a complicated one to defend, however, since, as Ferguson points out, "baby talk" is also used with pets and infants, and it can hardly be argued that an infant or pet is being taught to speak.

On the other hand, substantial adjustment of normal adult language also occurs when adults address young children who *are* learning their first language, and it is precisely because adult linguistic input may play some more than minimally directional role in the acquisition process that an examination of these adjustments becomes worthwhile. Evidence of linguistic adjustment can be found in Brown and Bellugi (1964), whose study involved the verbal interactions of a single mother-child pair. The mother's sentences were generally short and grammatically simple. Drach (1969) found that the average adult-adult utterance contains twice as many transformations and ten times as many subordinate clauses as the average utterance addressed by an adult to a 26-month-old child. Further, adult-child verbal interactions involve a much higher percentage of imperatives and interrogatives; Ervin-Tripp (1971) states that interrogative sentences account for between 25-50% of a total corpus of adult-child utterances. Drach also found that utterances in adult-adult interactions are considerably more variable than utterances addressed by adults to children in terms of morpheme count; in addition, the average utterance length of adult-adult speech, as measured by morpheme count, is two and one-half times that of the average adult-child utterance.

Similar evidence comes from Snow (1972), who reports that mothers use fewer subordinate clauses and compound verbs when speaking to 2-year-old children. Furthermore, "mean pre-verb length scores (of mother-child interactions) were lower, indicating less left branching and self-embedding" (Snow, 1972, p. 56). Research by Phillips (1973) involving 30 mother-child pairs confirms the hypothesis that speech addressed to young children is syntactically less complex. This is also the conclusion of Granowsky and Krossner (1970), whose work examined the language used by teachers in kindergarten classes.

Brown, Salerno, and Sachs (1972) have shown that the trend toward syntactic simplification which can be observed in parent-child speech is also characteristic of the speech addressed to young children by non-parent adults. Finally—and most significantly—Berko-Gleason (1973) found evidence that by age eight, children modify their language when addressing younger children.

As measured by sentence length, transformational complexity, and a number of other variables, then, the syntax of the language which adults use with young children clearly suggests a deliberate effort toward simplification. This notion is reinforced by parallel phonological and lexical adjustments—a tendency toward a reduced rate of speech (accompanied by clearer articulation and exaggeration of normal stress and intonation patterns) and a preference for lexical items with generalized reference.

As for the claim that adult linguistic input varies according to a child's age, the evidence is much more sketchy. Snow (1972) found that the language addressed to two-year-old children is grammatically simplier than that used with ten-year-olds. In fact, Snow asserted that mothers' speech to ten-year-olds is comparable in syntactic complexity to adult-adult verbal interactions. Phillips (1973) claimed that from age 18 months, children begin to be addressed in increasingly complex language. Fraser and Roberts (1975) asserted that this trend toward increased syntactic complexity, as measured by mean utterance length (MLU), continues until the child reaches two and one-half years of age; no change was observed thereafter, though.

Though the documentation is incomplete and in places somewhat contradictory, it remains nonetheless reasonable to suppose that between ages two and ten, children are exposed to increasingly complex linguistic data. The actual schedule according to which this takes place, however, is largely unknown. So, for that matter, is the relative importance of adult linguistic input versus input from child-child interactions and adult linguistic performance not specifically addressed to children. It is, however, a reasonable working assumption to view the relative simplicity and organization of adult linguistic input as having a facilitating effect on the acquisition process, in that the child may more easily discover the basic sentence patterns and major constituent categories of the target language when the load placed on his/her cognitive abilities and memory are not excessive. At any rate, the phenomenon of linguistic adjustment is sufficiently manifest for applied linguistics to recognize that any explanation of language acquisition must in some way address itself to the potential contribution made by this initial organization and adjustment of the target language data to which a learner is exposed.

Purposes and Procedures

In the case of second language learning which takes place in formal instructional settings, there is by definition the assumption that the learner's exposure to and experience with the second (or foreign) language is in some way guided and organized. Given what

is known about the organization or structuring of the input data in first language acquisition, we face, in the absence of any empirical evidence, the paradoxical situation of knowing that the input data in first language acquisition, which was thought to be essentially random, is in fact structured, but of not knowing whether the input data in presumably structured presentations of a second language is indeed similarly adjusted and organized. It was the purpose of the present study to attempt to find evidence to address this paradox. Specifically, the question investigated was the following: in terms of syntax, is there any indication that the linguistic data to which formal learners of English are exposed through the oral classroom language of their teachers is adjusted and graded in complexity analogously to the language addressed to first language learners?

In the present study, the syntax of the oral classroom language of eight ESL teacher-trainees was examined. The subjects were teacher-trainees enrolled in a Practicum course offered by the Program in Applied Linguistics at Indiana University. Three of the subjects were highly proficient nonnative speakers of English who had had some experience teaching English in their home countries. The others were native speakers of English whose prior teaching experience was quite limited.

The subjects taught adult ESL classes as part of the Practicum course requirements. These classes, which are offered each semester, meet hourly four evenings a week for a period of ten weeks. In the Fall of 1975, when the data for the present study was collected, instruction was offered at four different levels. Each of these four levels was taught by two teachers, who shared the teaching responsibilities equally. It should be mentioned that the subjects were given a great deal of freedom in making decisions about curricular goals, teaching materials and techniques, and classroom management practices.

Each of the subjects agreed to let the researcher tape three of his/her classes: one each at the beginning, middle, and end of the ten-week period. In addition, the weekly meetings of the Practicum class, in which the subjects and their instructors discussed general and specific problems and approaches in teaching English to speakers of other languages, were taped so that samples of the language which the subjects used with each other—that is, among linguistic peers—could be obtained.

From each of the twenty-four classroom tapes, a 500-word sample was selected for analysis. In each case, the sample consisted of the first 500 words contained in sentence-length utterances spoken by the teacher during the actual class period. For the baseline language data collected in the Practicum class meetings, the first

500 words spoken in sentence-length utterances by a subject to the class as a whole and with the class' attention constituted the sample for that subject.

The samples were transcribed and analyzed by the researcher. Analysis proceeded by segmentation of the samples into T-units. A T-unit is defined as "one main clause plus any subordinate clause or nonclausal structure that is attached to or embedded in it" (Hunt, 1970, p. 4). This unit of syntactic analysis is objective and easy to compute, and in the last ten years it has gained increasing recognition as a far more valid index of syntactic complexity than other measures, including sentence length. A particularly attractive feature of the T-unit as an index of syntactic maturity was revealed by O'Donnell, Norris, and Griffin (1967): in their study of the syntax of the oral and written language of elementary schoolchildren, these researchers noted a close relationship between T-unit length and the number of sentence-combining transformations required to generate a T-unit. Differential mean length of T-unit, then, appears to reflect the relative degree to which users exploit the transformational resources of English.

Altogether, measures on six dependent variables were computed for each sample. These variables were: words per T-unit, ratio of clauses (main and subordinate) per T-unit, words per clause, adjective clauses per 100 T-units, adverb clauses per 100 T-units, and noun clauses per 100 T-units.

Table 1

COMPARISON OF SYNTACTIC COMPLEXITY OF SUBJECTS' BASELINE (PRACTICUM CLASS MEETINGS) LANGUAGE AND THEIR ORAL CLASSROOM LANGUAGE

	Source of Language Sample	
Variable	*Baseline (N = 8)*	*ESL Classroom (N = 24)*
w/T	10.97	6.19
c/T	1.60	1.20
w/c	6.84	5.10
AD/100	11.59	2.54
AV/100	20.27	5.33
N/100	28.54	11.16

w/T = words per T-unit
c/T = clauses per T-unit
w/c = words per clause
AD/100 = adjective clauses per 100 T-units
AV/100 = adverb clauses per 100 T-units
N/100 = noun clauses per 100 T-units

Table 1 presents a comparison of the means of the subjects' classroom language and their speech among linguistic peers. The data as measured by all six dependent variables indicates an overall process of syntactic simplification in the classroom language. The subjects spoke in shorter clauses and used fewer subordinate clauses per T-unit when addressing their students than they did when speaking to highly proficient interlocutors. Multivariate analysis of variance performed on the data revealed that the overall difference in syntactic complexity was highly significant ($p = 0.0001$).

The next step in the analysis involved the comparison of the oral classroom language used from level to level. Table 2 compares mean performance of the subjects according to the level at which they were teaching. What emerges from the data is an unmistakable relationship between the syntactic complexity of the subjects' classroom language and the level of proficiency of their students. At any level, the syntax of the teachers' oral classroom language is more complex than at the level immediately below it and less complex than at the level immediately above it; and *this is true for every one of the six criterion variables.*

Table 2

COMPARISON OF SYNTACTIC COMPLEXITY OF SUBJECTS' ORAL CLASSROOM LANGUAGE BY LEVEL

	Variable					
Level	*w/T*	*c/T*	*w/c*	*AD/100*	*AV/100*	*N/100*
L_1 (Beginner) (N = 6)	4.30	1.02	4.20	0.00	0.76	1.60
L_2 (Upper Beginner) (N = 6)	5.75	1.14	5.04	1.46	3.64	6.92
L_3 (Intermediate) (N = 6)	6.45	1.24	5.18	2.26	8.40	13.54
L_4 (Advanced) (N = 6)	8.26	1.38	5.98	6.47	8.51	20.91
$\overline{X}_L$ (N = 24)	6.19	1.20	5.10	2.54	5.33	11.16

Table 3 compares the same data. Here, however, the syntactic complexity of the teachers' classroom language used in the Advanced classes serves as the index of comparison. Let us briefly consider, by way of illustration, the two most different levels, the

Beginner (L_1) and the Advanced (L_4). At L_1, the two subjects used T-units whose mean length was only 52% as great as the average T-unit used by the two teachers at L_4. The mean length of clauses used by the subjects teaching at L_1 was only 70% of the mean clause length in the data of the two subjects teaching at L_4. Finally, the difference in the ratio of clauses per T-unit at the two levels also indicates the difference in the language used by the teachers at these levels. It should be noted that since every T-unit contains one main clause, the minimum possible ratio of clauses per T-unit is 1.00. The subjects teaching at L_4, then, used subordinate clauses roughly nineteen times as often as did their counterparts teaching students with no proficiency in English at the time classes began.

Table 3

COMPARISON OF SYNTACTIC COMPLEXITY OF SUBJECTS' ORAL CLASSROOM LANGUAGE BY LEVEL (INDEX OF COMPARISON = L_4)

	Variable					
Level	*w/t*	*c/T*	*w/c*	*AD/100*	*AV/100*	*N/100*
L_1 (Beginner) (N = 6)	0.52	0.74	0.70	0.00	0.09	0.08
L_2 (Upper Beginner) (N = 6)	0.70	0.83	0.84	0.23	0.43	0.33
L_3 (Intermediate) (N = 6)	0.78	0.90	0.87	0.35	0.99	0.65
L_4 (Advanced) (N = 6)	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00

Multivariate analysis of the data revealed the following: (1) the level of proficiency which a class of students was assumed to have is a statistically significant ($p = < 0.0227$) factor determining the syntactic complexity of the classroom language used by the teachers, and (2) the syntactic complexity of the oral language used by a teacher at one level is significantly less than mean performance of the teachers teaching at more advanced levels. (The only exception was between the Intermediate and Advanced levels, where the same trend was apparent, but not to a statistically significant degree).

Summary and Discussion

To summarize, the study just described investigated whether the classroom language of teachers in a formal language learning setting reflected some degree of syntactic adjustment and whether these

adjustments, if indeed they were found to exist, moved progressively, like those discovered in the primary linguistic input in first language acquisition, towards greater approximation of the full adult target language norm. From the data obtained, the answer to both questions is affirmative.

It is widely believed, however, that linguistic adjustment of the kind observed in the classroom language of the subjects in the present study is characteristic of virtually all verbal interactions between speakers of a language and less than fully proficient interlocutors. This is the view of Ferguson (1971), who postulated the principle that speech communities tend to have conventional varieties of "simplified" speech which speakers regard as appropriate for use when their interlocutors do not have full understanding of the language in use. One variety, to which the name "Foreigner Talk" has been given, is, like "baby talk," thought to be the product of conscious choices on the part of speakers of a language and, according to Ferguson (1975), is "optimally characterized by an additional set of rules added to the grammar of the language being simplified" (p. 1). "Foreigner Talk" is generaly felt to be a transitional form of communication between linguistic unequals; "the usual outcome of the use of foreigner talk is that one user or the other acquires an adequate command of the other's language" (Ferguson, 1971, p. 144).

In other words, the syntactic adjustments made by foreign language teachers represent a single instance of the kind of linguistic adjustment typically made on behalf of *all* adults learning—formally or not—a second language. The primary linguistic input to which formal second language learners are exposed via their teachers' classroom language is indeed syntactically adjusted as is the case in the primary linguistic input with which first language learners operate, but it is no less typical of the speech addressed to adult learners in language usage settings where the intent is not specifically instructional.

Is the implication, then, that the contribution of the foreign language teacher's classroom language is merely neutral in the sense that it does not controvert the nature of the linguistic data to which all language learners, both first and second, are exposed? I think not, but the motivation for saying this is not based on syntactic adjustment alone, but rather in another dimension of teachers' classroom language which is specifically the result of the instructional setting in which it occurs.

A number of studies have shown that many of the verbal interactions between parents (most generally mothers) and children acquiring language involve communicative strategies or devices on the part of the adult which are tantamount to what Landes (1975)

calls "training sessions." Among the different strategies which have been observed, four are worth mentioning here:

(1) *repetition:* this technique is thought to have potential accelerating effects on language acquisition. As Snow (1972) explains:

> Short term memory limits the time available for processing input. Repetition of a sentence would give added processing time, thus increasing the child's chances of successfully processing the sentence (p. 563).

Kobashigawa (1969), who studied the same corpus examined by Drach (1969), found that 15% of the statements, 35% of the questions, and 60% of the imperatives addressed by a mother to her 26-month-old son were repeated with no long intervening pauses or activity.

(2) *prodding:* this strategy characterizes instances when a mother (or father) makes it verbally clear that she wants her child to say or repeat something. Such verbal directions typically take the form of "Can you say . . . ?" or "Say . . . ". A related device is *prompting*, in which, for example, a mother will show a child a picture of something which the child knows the word for and will say, "This is a *what*?" or "What's this?"

(3) *modeling:* Brown (1970) asserted that

> for any given preposition, both the frequency with which it is modeled and the frequency of expansions are strongly related to the point at which that preposition is regularly supplied by the child in all the phrases requiring it (p. 146).

Modeling thus refers to those occasions in which it is evident from the situation that the mother intends to demonstrate or teach her child something. In contrast to "prodding" or "prompting," "modeling" takes place when, for example, a child does not know the name of something in a picture and the adult supplies the appropriate lexical item.

(4) *correction by expansion:* while most studies of language acquisition devalue the role of corrective feedback, there is considerable sentiment to regard parental expansions of children's utterances—what have been termed "imitations in reverse," and which are presumably performed by the adult to check his/her understanding of the child's utterances—as very possibly contributive to language development. As Brown (1970) describes it, "by expanding the child's words into the nearest sentence appropriate to the circumstances, a mother may teach a child to conceive of those circumstances as they are conceived in our community and to code them as we code them." In contrast to children's imitations of parental utterances, which are not grammatically progressive, it has been asserted

by at least one researcher (McNeill, 1966) that in some cases, children's imitations of parental expansions are grammatically progressive roughly 30% of the time. Though the data is not at all conclusive, it is still valid to assume provisionally that parental expansions of children's utterances are as likely as not contributive to language development.

Now, it is precisely these kinds of "training sessions" which are characteristic of foreign language classroom verbal activity. Preliminary observation of the data of the present study indicates that these four strategies are used by all subjects in the classroom, but particularly so by the two subjects teaching at the Elementary level. These kinds of verbal interactions between a speaker of a language and a learner of a language are communicative and/or pedagogical in nature, and they are essentially consistent with any individual teaching methodology. They are, in fact, so intimately a part of the teacher's normal classroom activity that the role they may play in the learning process is probably taken too much for granted.

Their use by foreign language teachers, however, like the tendency to simplify the syntax of the language which they address to their students, suggests that the foreign language teacher may serve the same function in second language learning that the parent does in first language acquisition. To whatever degree the primary linguistic input supplied by parents in first language acquisition is a critical feature of the acquisition process, the linguistic and communicative/pedagogical strategies which characterize teachers' classroom language might similarly shape and guide the formal second language learning process. In addition, the "training sessions" which result from the use of these strategies in a teacher's verbal interactions with his/her learners would thus be a major criterion distinguishing formal from unstructured or "natural" second language learning, since in the latter these strategies would presumably be considerably less frequently employed by speakers of a language whose contact with a learner of the language has no explicit pedagogical goals.

What has been presented here might best be characterized as a working hypothesis to be verified or refuted by subsequent research. It is my feeling, however, that it is reasonable to suggest that the nature of second language teachers' classroom speech is such that in terms of the linguistic input to which second language learners are exposed through formal instruction, further support is lent to the hypothesis that second language learning should not be assumed to proceed in a manner fundamentally different from that in which children acquire their native language.

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Should We Teach Children Syntax?

Heidi C. Dulay and Marina K. Burt

Two research studies on child L2 acquisition were conducted sequentially over the last year. The first study used comparative error analysis to determine whether the actual L2 errors children make can be accounted for by "creative construction" or "habit formation." The findings provided the impetus for the second study which compared the sequence of acquisition of certain grammatical morphemes in three different groups of children, using a cross-sectional technique. The combined findings of the two studies suggest that, given a natural communication situation, children's innate ability to organize structure accounts in a major way for their acquisition of L2 syntax. Although we believe that an L2 teacher should continue to diagnose children's L2 speech, our findings suggest that we should leave the learning of syntax to the children and redirect our teaching efforts. Practical suggestions are offered to help create speech environments in the classroom that capitalize on the child's natural language learning processes.

Research seldom does any practical favors for teachers in the sense that it does not usually provide teachers with short cuts. Individualized instruction, for example, whose value few of us would doubt, requires more teaching time, machine time, and materials than ever before. Recommendations made by "experts" and researchers usually involve the teacher's spending more time, more energy, and even working many hours after school in order to create new learning environments for children in the classroom. It is with great pleasure, therefore, that we report some research findings in

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the area of child second language syntax that suggest the opposite: less teaching time and energy may result in better learning.

This suggestion emerges—perhaps tentatively, but nevertheless compellingly—from our comparison of the processes of first (L1) and second language (L2) acquisition by children. In the last fifteen years of L1 research, the emphasis has shifted from a search for environmental factors such as reinforcement and frequency of stimulus-response associations, to a search for the innate ability of the human child to organize speech data. (See Brown, 1973a for a short and comprehensive review of the research.) While it is obvious that there must be differences between L2 and L1 acquisition because of differences in the conceptual repertoire, memory span, and previous language learning experience of L2 and L1 learners, the discovery in L1 research of the fundamental process of "creative construction" of speech by the child cannot be ignored by the serious student of L2 acquisition. All of our research has focused on the following question: is L2 acquisition by children characterized by the child's gradual construction of his own linguistic rules, and if so, what consequences would this have for L2 instruction?

We have begun to answer that question in the area of syntax and have limited our investigations to five- to eight-year-old children. The first step in our investigation was the theoretical analysis which integrated the surprisingly small amount of existing empirical data on the speech of children acquiring a second language (Dulay and Burt, 1972). This analysis also laid out the theoretical framework for our subsequent research. In the present paper we report on two empirical studies done sequentially over the last year.

The first study, which was reported at the 1973 TESOL Convention in San Juan, was designed to provide systematic empirical data on the "habit formation" vs. "creative construction" nature of second language learning by children. The findings of that study led us to investigate further the creative construction account of L2 acquisition in a second study which asked, essentially, whether there is a natural sequence in the acquisition of certain basic syntactic structures across children in diverse L2 learning environments.

THE FIRST STUDY: HABIT FORMATION VS. CREATIVE CONSTRUCTION

Rationale

The first study was motivated primarily by the conflict between our past ESL training (which we had put into practice during our teaching careers) and what we were hearing from Chomsky and his colleagues at M.I.T. and Brown and his colleagues at Harvard.

The basis of our ESL teaching techniques was the habit formation account of L2 acquisition. That is, a second language is learned by imitation, reinforcement of the correct associations between verbal responses and contextual or verbal stimuli, practice of correct responses, and immediate correction by the teacher of incorrect responses. This is quite the opposite of the creative construction point of view in L1 acquisition, which attributes to the child the mechanisms necessary to organize and generate the syntax of a language. During the learning process the child's syntax differs from the commonly "correct" or developed structures. However, the child himself gradually resolves the mismatch between his forms and the developed forms he hears, *without any observable external intervention* (see Cazden, 1972).

We had no clear evidence for either theory of child L2 acquisition, because there were virtually no studies on how children acquired a second language (Dulay and Burt, 1972). Furthermore, the pedagogical implications of each account are almost diametrically opposed. Thus, both as ESL teachers and as researchers, we designed a study that we hoped would provide firm direction for our subsequent work.

According to the habit formation theory, certain kinds of errors are predicted in the speech of children learning a second language. These errors should appear wherever the child's mother tongue and the L2 being acquired differ. They are believed to be the result of the child's transferring the structures of his L1 (his old habit) onto the structures of the L2 (the new habit he is trying to acquire). Thus the errors are called "interference" errors. The creative construction theory, however, predicts quite different kinds of errors. The child is "reconstructing" the new language independently of his knowledge of the structures of his first language. Thus, errors due to transfer of L1 structures onto L2 structures should not occur. Instead, the error types should be the result of the processing strategies the child uses to organize and produce the new language. These would be "developmental" errors similar to those of children learning that language natively.

The differences in both sets of predictions are relatively simple to identify. One only needs to look at the types of errors made and see if they reflect structure (see Stockwell, Bowen and Martin 1965, for a contrastive analysis of Spanish and English), or if they are similar to the developmental errors found in the published data of L1 researchers. (Brown, 1973b, and Klima and Bellugi, 1966, provide representative samples.)

One important distinction must be kept in mind when classifying these error types: errors must be unambiguously classifiable as

interference or not. For example, Spanish speaking children are often heard producing utterances such as:

He not eat
I no wanna go

While it is true that these reflect Spanish structure (*El no come, Yo no quiero ir*), these errors are also produced by children learning English as L1. Thus, they are ambiguous with respect to our question, since they support both accounts of L2 acquisition.

Procedure

Natural speech was elicted from 145 Spanish-speaking five-to eight-year-olds, and 388 unambiguous errors from that speech sample were tabulated for this study. The children were all learning English as a second language in three school districts—two in northern California and one in New York City. All of the children's utterances were collected by their teachers using the *Bilingual Syntax Measure* (Burt, Dulay and Hernandez, 1973).

The *Bilingual Syntax Measure* (BSM) is an instrument designed to measure young children's acquisition of English and/or Spanish grammatical structure in an L2 situation. The BSM consists of seven colored cartoon type pictures and a set of 33 questions in English and 33 in Spanish. The BSM has no "correct" or "best" answers in terms of the content of children's responses. It only measures the degree of proficiency with which the child uses the structures he offers in response to the questions. The questions are structured so that certain structure types will be almost unavoidable in the child's response. For example, pointing to a very fat cartoon character, the investigator asks, "Why is he so fat?" Most children offer some form of "(because) (s)he eat(s) too much." Thus, we have data on how the child forms simple finite clauses (word order, gender, number and case for the pronoun, agreement for the verb, the form of the qualifier, etc.). However, less common responses such as "He not on Weightwatcher" are coded for the structures the child offered. The aim of the BSM is to elicit natural speech from children, not specific responses, so that we can get an indication of how proficient the child is, given the structures he offers.

Error analysis and findings

We investigated errors in six elicited syntactic structure types which were different in Spanish and English. We classified the errors into three types: a) *developmental*: those errors that are similar to L1 acquisition errors; b) *interference*: those errors that reflect Spanish structure; c) *unique*: those errors that are neither "developmental" nor "interference," but which appeared in our sample.

For example, for the question "Why do the baby birds want food?" the most common structure type used by the children is a form of "they're hungry." If a child says "they hungry," the error (omission of the copula) would be classified as developmental, since it is also a form used by children acquiring English natively. If a child says "they have hunger/hungry" the error (use of *have* for *be*) would be classified as an interference error since it directly reflects Spanish structure (*ellos tienen hambre*), and since it is not found in the data of children learning English as a first language. If a child says "they do hungry" it would be classified as unique, since the use of *do* for *be* neither reflects Spanish nor is it found in English L1 data.

Table 1 summarized the six structure types in our data that were relevant to the study. The two necessary conditions for this analysis were met: 1) there were instances of errors, and 2) the errors could be unambiguously classified as either interference or developmental. For example, for structure 1 (NP-V-Pron), the habit formation theory would predict L1 interference: a native Spanish speaker should produce NP-Pron-V as in *The dog it ate/took/stole*, etc. because that constituent order holds in Spanish (*El perro se lo comio*); or he may also add a reflexive marker which is obligatory in Spanish. On the other hand, the creative construction theory would predict developmental errors: the omission of the article *the*, or the omission or misformation of the past tense as in (*the*) *dog eat/eated it.*

The final step in the analysis was the tabulation of errors in each category. The results, summarized in Table 2, indicate that three per cent of the 388 error types fell into the interference category, and 85 per cent were developmental. The remaining 12 per cent were unique, and we leave their explanation to future research.

Implications of findings

The results of the first study show that most of the children's L2 syntax errors in English were of the type made only by children learning English natively. This suggests that children learning a second language are as creative as are their L1 counterparts. Their errors suggest that they also make use of universal language processing strategies described in L1 research. These strategies have been described for languages as diverse as English, Samoan, Japanese, Russian, Finnish, and several Mayan languages. They include the reliance upon the word order of the language being learned to express semantic relations. For example, "Dog eat turkey" clearly expresses an agent-action-object relation without the use of functors—i.e., the grammatical "frills" required in the developed form "*the* dog *is* eat*ing the* turkey" (the tense is clear from the context). The omission of functors is soon replaced by errors caused by "over-generalizations," that is, applying a regular or pervasive rule in the language

Table 1

ERROR TYPES

Structure	*Examples of Developed Form*	*Examples of Developmental Error*	*Examples of Interference Error*
1. NP-V -Pron	The dog ate it	(The) dog eat it	(The) dog it ate (El perro se lo comio)
2. Det-Adj-N	the skinny man	skinny (man)	(the) man skinny (El hombre flaco)
3. Pron-(Aux)-(Neg)-VP	He eats too much	he eat too much	eats too much (Come demansiado)
4. Det-N-Poss-N	the king's food	(the) king food	(the) food (of the king) (la comida del rey)
5. NP-be-Adj	They are hungry	they hungry	they have hunger/hungry (Ellos tienen gambre)
6. (NP-Aux)-V+ing -(Infin)- { NP-Prep-NP / NP-NP }	The mother is giving food to the birdie	(The) mother give food to (the) birdie	(The) mother him give food to (the) birdie (La mama le dio la comida al pajarito)

Table 2

Distribution of errors

	Developmental	Interference	Unique
Structure 1	65	0	5
2	72	0	0
3	156	10	33
4	5	1	0
5	5	0	4
6	19	0	3
Total	322 (85%)	11 (3%)	45 (12%)

to an exception, such as the plural form *-s* in *foots* (for *feet*), the past *-ed* in *eated* (for *ate*), the possessive form in the reflexive pronoun *hisself* (for *himself*).

One observable conclusion drawn from this study is that children's L2 errors in syntax are similar to those of children learning a first language. That is, they are characterized by the omission of functors and over-generalizations rather than by the incorrect use of L1 structures in L2 speech. These facts are interesting primarily because they support the hypothesis that children learning a second language use the same general language processing abilities which children use in learning their mother tongue. This means we have some evidence that the child's cognitive input to the L2 situation is necessary to account for his acquisition of syntax. Comparative error analysis has thus provided the empirical support necessary to continue exploring the productivity of the creative construction process in predicting the form of children's L2 speech. This conclusion provided the starting point for our second study.

THE SECOND STUDY: NATURAL SEQUENCE OF L2 STRUCTURE ACQUISITION

Rationale

If we assume that children use common processing strategies to learn a second language, what other evidence might there be (in addition to the error analysis described above) that reveals that "commonness," or universality of process? Here again, L1 research gives us a lead. In addition to the impressive finding that children all over the world create the same types of syntactic rules to produce early utterances in their mother tongue, Brown, (1973b) found that there is a common ("invariant") sequence of acquisition of at least 14 "functors" —the little function words that have at best a minor role in conveying the meaning of a sentence: noun and verb inflec-

tions, articles, auxiliaries, copulas and prepositions.[1] These were acquired in the same order by children unacquainted with each other and of different socioeconomic levels. A subsequent cross-sectional study (de Villiers, 1972) corroborated that invariant sequence of acquisition.

This finding of L1 research motivated our next question: Is there a common sequence with which children acquiring English as a second language learn certain structures?

Before describing this study and discussing its results, a note regarding the *specific* order of acquisition must be made, because we would predict a different order for L2 children from the order Brown found for his L1 children. After an exhaustive analysis of semantic and grammatical complexity of the functors, Brown concluded that " . . . the order of acquisition is dependent upon relative complexity, grammatical and/or semantic" (Brown, 1973b). In other words, neither grammatical nor semantic complexity alone could explain the acquisition order in younger children one and one-half to four years old. However, five- to eight-year-old children such as those we studied are more sophisticated with respect to cognitive and conceptual development. In short, the older L2 learner need not struggle with the same kinds of semantic notions already acquired in earlier childhood.

Since the variable of "semantic complexity" is absent for the elementary structures we are dealing with in L2, we would not expect those structures to be acquired in the same order as in L1. The framework for this study can thus be stated as follows: If the creative construction process is a major force in L2 acquisition, we hypothesize that, as in L1, there should be a common sequence of acquisition of certain syntactic structures across children learning a second language. However, these structures in L2 acquisition would be acquired in a different order than that found in L1 acquisition.

Procedure

In this study we again used natural speech of five- to eight-year-old Spanish-speaking children learning English as L2, collected by means of the *Bilingual Syntax Measure*. These data had been collected before our second study was conceived, in schools which had used the measure to assess children's L2 development. We decided to use those data to pilot our analysis techniques and as a preliminary test for our hypothesis. The speech corpus contained

[1] The 14 functors in Brown's four-year longitudinal study were: present progressive, *in*, *on*, plural, past irregular, possessive, uncontractible copula, articles, past regular, third person regular, third person irregular, uncontractible auxiliary, contractible copula, and the contractible auxiliary.

8 of Brown's original 14 functors, including those that were acquired at the beginning, middle, and end of the L1 sequence. If one ranked Brown's 14 functors from 1 to 14, the 8 in our study were those that ranked 1 (present progressive), 4 (plural), 5 (past irregular), 6 (possessive), 8 (articles), 10 (third person regular), 13 (contractible copula), and 14 (contractible auxiliary).

The sample consisted of 151 children: 95 Chicano children from Sacramento, California; 26 Mexican children studying in San Ysidro, California, a town five minutes away from Tijuana, Mexico, where the children lived; and 30 Puerto Rican children from the East Harlem district in New York. These three groups of children differ with respect to amount of exposure to English, as well as with respect to level of proficiency in English. Most of the East Harlem children had not lived in the States more than a year and were exposed to English in school through a "balanced bilingual program" where subject matter was taught through both Spanish and English, with no formal instruction in ESL. Of the three groups, the East Harlem children had the least exposure to English. The children in San Ysidro were exposed to English only in school, as they all lived in Tijuana and returned home every afternoon after school; however, English was the sole medium of instruction in the school. The Sacramento children had the most exposure to English. Most of the children were born in the U.S., and attended a "dual model" bilingual program (one English model and one Spanish model per class). School exposure to English included both subject matter instruction in English and ESL classes.

In summary, we had three groups of children who differed in several ways, including amount and type of exposure to English, although all were exposed to substantial amounts of natural communication in English. If there is a universal sequence of acquisition of L2 structures, this order should be reflected across all three groups of children. Thus for each group, we determined the degree of acquisition of each of the eight functors mentioned, by means of the analysis described below.

Functor analysis and findings

Grammatical morphemes, or functors, are required in almost any verbal utterances consisting of more than one morpheme. For example, in the utterance "she is dancing" a mature native speaker of English would never omit the functor *-ing*, because it is obligatory that *-ing* be attached to any verb in English when expressing a present progressive action. However, as the presence or correct use of functors contributes little to communication in English, one can communicate quite adequately without them (Burt and Kiparsky,

1972). Children who are learning English as L2 do exactly that, much like children who learn English natively. When a child speaks a language he is still learning, he will create *obligatory occasions* for functors in his utterances, but he may not funish the required forms. He may omit them, as in "He like hamburgers," where the third person present indicative is missing, or he may misform them, as in "They do hungry," where something was supplied for the copula, but it wasn't quite the right "thing."

Given the notion of "obligatory occasions," one can use the natural utterances children offer, and at the same time precisely quantify the degree of functor acquisition.

> Once can set an acquisition criterion not simply in terms of output but in terms of output-where-required. Each obligatory context can be regarded as a kind of test item which the child passes by supplying the required morpheme or fails by supplying none or one that is not correct. This performance measure, the percentage of morphemes supplied in obligatory contexts, should not be dependent on the topic of conversation or the character of the interaction. (Brown, 1973b:255)

Thus, treating each obligatory occasion for a functor as a "test item," we scored each item as follows:

no functor supplied = 0 (she's dance_)
misformed functor supplied = 0.5 (she's dances)
correct functor supplied = 1.0 (she's dan*cing*)

The degree to which a functor had been acquired in each of our three groups of children was computed by means of a ratio for each functor, where the denominator indicated the total number of obligatory occasions for that functor across all children in the group, and the numerator was the sum of the scores obtained for each obligatory occasion.

This computational procedure was followed for each functor and for each group of children. The results appear in Figure 1. As the figure indicates, the contours for the acquisition of our eight functors are similar for each of the three groups, even though the degree of acquisition of those functors differs somewhat for each group. It is also clear that the order of acquisition of these functors is different from that found in L1 acquisition. The functors specified on the horizontal axis appear in the order in which they were acquired in L1. If we charted out the L1 order, then, the line would be roughly diagonal, starting at the top left and ending in the lower right-hand corner.

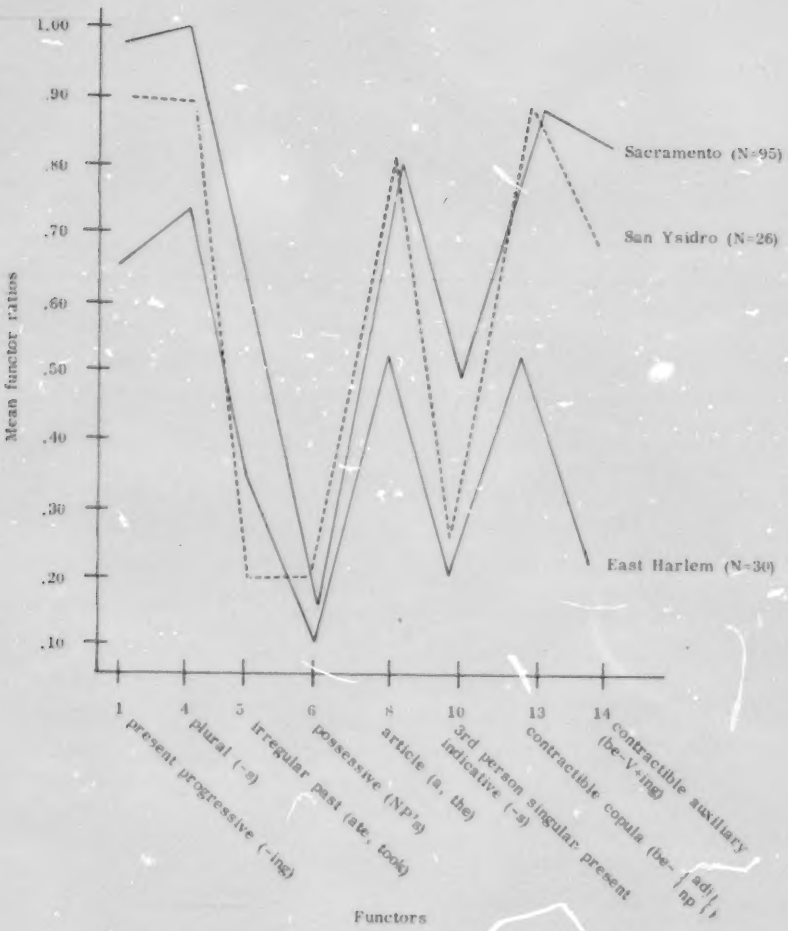

Figure 1.

ACQUISITION OF EIGHT ENGLISH FUNCTORS BY NATIVE SPANISH-SPEAKING CHILDREN

It is important to point out that these contours should not be the result of Spanish interference (even though all the children were Spanish-speaking), as the results of the first study show that only three per cent of the errors children made fell into the interference category.

Thus, at this point in our research, both of our hypotheses received support: 1) there does seem to be a common order of acquisi-

tion for certain structures in L2 acquisition, at least for our three groups of children, and 2) the order is different from that found in L1 acquisition. Thus this pilot study supplies independent and additional evidence of the creative construction process in L2 acquisition.

THEORETICAL AND PRACTICAL IMPLICATIONS

The first study indicates that most of the syntactic errors Spanish-speaking children make in English are the result of the developmental linguistic rules children construct to generate the language, rather than the result of first language habits. (This finding is supported by studies on Japanese [Milon, 1972], Chinese [Huang, 1972] and Norwegian children [Ravem, 1970] learning English as a second language.) The construction of those rules is said to be creative because no native speaker of the target language—whether peer, parent, or teacher—models the kind of sentences produced regularly by children who are still learning the basic syntactic structures of the language.

In the second study, the common sequence of acquisition of certain grammatical morphemes by three groups of children in diverse English learning environments provides independent evidence that the strategies of second language acquisition by children are universal. Furthermore, this common sequence indicates that the learning order of these structures is controlled by the child's processing strategies, in the sense that he must be cognitively "ready" in order to acquire any one of them.

To date, no one has found a way to accelerate the child's progress through the steps in the acquisition of syntax. However, work in this area is just beginning. At this point, our knowledge of the language acquisition process tells us that exposing the child to a natural communication situation is sufficient to activate his language learning processes. If we accept this, the next question arises: What are the crucial characteristics of a natural communication situation for L2 learning?

Perhaps the most important characteristic of a natural communication situation that is most often overlooked in language classrooms is that the attention of the speaker and hearer is on the "message," or content, of the verbal exchange rather than on its form. Yet, most language teaching materials focus on the structures to be taught, often with the result that the message of the sentences taught, if there is one, is meaningless for both teachers and children. This may be because language teachers are supposed to teach language and not anything else, just as social studies teachers or science teachers are supposed to teach social studies or science. Though this

analogy sounds reasonable enough, the fallacy lies in comparing language, which is "form," to subject matter, which is "content." Thus to the extent that form replaces content, language classes are not natural communication situations.

Another important characteristic of a natural communication situation that is conducive to language learning is the presence of clear and concrete referents for the major meaning-bearing elements of the verbal expressions. That is, as much as possible, all the nouns, verbs and adjectives in the teacher's utterances to the child should be at least visually accessible to the child as he hears the teacher speakin. In other words, the more props there are in the classroom that represent the objects used in the activity, the more easily the child will be able to infer the "message" from the "form," i.e., the teacher's actual speech. For example, elementary science kits are one of the best kinds of materials for L2 learning. A child who doesn't understand all or much of what the teacher is saying (form) will certainly understand and retain interest in what is going on before his eyes (message). And in the magical manner of language acquisition, the child will process and begin to produce the speech that he hears.

Thus, in answer to the question "Should we teach children syntax?" the available research indicates, "No." Although we believe that an L2 teacher should continue to *diagnose* children's L2 syntax, our findings suggest that we should leave the learning to the children and redirect our teaching efforts to other aspects of language.

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Language Learners' Errors: A Russian Example

Richard L. Light

In the past few years, researchers in second language acquisition have followed the lead of their colleagues in first language acquisition and have begun to use analysis of the errors made by second language learners to formulate a clearer understanding of the process of acquiring a second language. In the past, errors in second language acquisition were generally considered *interlingual errors* and viewed as an inevitable product of interference from the native language (Lado, 1957). Little attention was directed to other possible sources of learners' errors. More recently, Richards (1971, 1975), and others have discussed errors which originate in the structure of the English language and in the strategies by which a second language is acquired and taught. Richards has defined *intralingual errors* as those "which reflect the general characteristics of rule learning, such as faulty generalization, incomplete application of rules, and failure to learn conditions under which rules apply"; e.g., *He can sings* results from overgeneralization (Richards, 1971: 207). *Developmental errors* are those which "illustrate the learner attempting to build up hypotheses about the English language"; e.g., *One day it was happened* where *was* is hypothesized as a marker of past tense (Richards, 1971: 212).

This paper incorporates these suggestions in an analysis of the errors made by ten Russian learners of English. The errors are taken

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for the most part from the tape of a panel the students presented on Soviet Education at SUNY at Albany. Most of their speech on tape consisted of prepared answers to questions submitted in advance of the panel. A small part of the tape consisted of spontaneous questions from the audience and spontaneous responses from the Russians. On the whole there were very few errors, probably due in part to the nature of the presentation and certainly attributable in large part to the very advanced level of the students.[1] The remaining errors were drawn from the TOEFL Test, primarily the parts on English Structure and Writing Ability, and from a quiz which the students took as part of their day-to-day course work at the university.

Many of the errors were of the intralingual variety, that is, they probably were a product of a problematic area of English syntax. The most frequent error observed was the incorrect use of the definite and indefinite articles. The errors were of two types: use of an article where none would be required in standard English, or omission of the article in obligatory contexts. Russian has no articles at all, and a single form (e.g., the Russian equivalent of *apple*) would be used to render the English forms *the apple*, *an apple*, and *apple*. It is tempting, therefore, to write off the students' errors as interference from Russian and leave it at that. If the students had consistently omitted the article in all contexts, then a good case could be made for the transfer hypothesis. This was in fact not true. The students used articles throughout, sometimes erroneously, and they sometimes omitted the article where English would require it. Since no article is a possibility in English, however, this is not necessarily a product of interference from the native language, but rather a product of confusion in dealing with the English system itself.

Certainly, in the case of the misuse of the articles, we must look not to the native language but to the target language, English, to explain the problem. Something that doesn't exist can hardly be said to interfere. In order to clarify this point, let's imagine that instead of Russians, we had Frenchmen providing us with errors, and that the sentence in question were *The love is very important.* Then, we might be justified in calling the error an interference error, because it at least superficially is a literal translation of the French structure in which the article is obligatory with abstract nouns such as *love*. A Frenchman learning English could, conceivably, use definite and indefinite articles while speaking English, with-

[1] TOEFL scores for the ten students ranged from 546 (74th percentile) to 634 (95th percentile).

out having achieved the slightest insight into the rules and restrictions governing the English system of articles. All the Frenchman would have to know is expressable by *le, la, les, = the; un, une = a* and he then would have achieved a sort of functional control which would produce correct sentences part of the time and deviant ones at other times. This is an extreme case of interference of the native language, since it is a conscious strategy on the part of the learner.

The Russians, however, if they use the articles at all, are in more of a bind. They cannot translate non-existent Russian articles, and must therefore come to terms with the rules and restrictions to the rules which govern the use of articles in English. Since the rules are often elusive, the probability for errors increases. The following are some errors which could derive from the complexities of the English article systems rather than from interference. They point to a failure on the part of the learner to apply particular restrictions to rules.

ERRORS: *They take language and foreign language.*
Children are taught alphabet, they are taught reading, they are taught counting . . .

Notice that in English, the "subject matter" is generally *not* preceded by the article, even when it is qualified (e.g., *She takes speed reading*).

ERROR: *. . . provide the country with workers in engineering, metallurgical industry, chemical industry, construction . . .*

In order to understand the problems of the ESL learner in coping with the English article system in this case, let's look at what *is* possible:

provide the country with workers in engineering.
provide the country with workers in chemical engineering.
provide the country with workers in construction.
provide the country with workers in heavy construction.
provide the country with workers in industry.
provide the country with workers in heavy industry.
BUT **provide the country with workers in chemical industry.*

ERROR: *. . . we study the scientific communism, scientific socialism and political economy of capitalism.*

Again we can say:

We study communism.
We study scientific communism.
We study economy.
We study political economy.

*Asterisk indicates an ungrammatical sentence.

BUT **We study political economy of capitalism.*

An unusual use of the indefinite article occurs in an English expression like: *It was a long thirty minutes*; this proved difficult for the Russian students.

ERROR: *Yes, and very unpleasant thirty minutes it was.* (from the TOEFL test; a multiple-choice response).

This is a very strange use of the indefinite article *a* since it is used with a plural *thirty minutes*, here taken to be a unit of time. Again we see the failure to learn the particular conditions of a rule. In this case of course the rule is very generalizable and the condition is very particular, and so we might expect this error to persist even in the speech of ESL students as advanced as these.

Many of the errors in the use of the article did consist of its omission in obligatory contexts. This might well be interference from Russian in the sense that articles might not be conceived of as crucial to meaning and so might be overlooked. They don't "sense" that something is missing, in the way that a speaker of English learning Spanish, for example, might "miss" subject pronouns or "miss" the copula in Hebrew or Russian. However, as mentioned earlier, errors of omission might still be due to confusion about the in's and out's of English articles, since a Ø article is also a possibility in the English system. The following are some of the omission-type errors:

ERRORS: *Ruble is approximately equivalent of dollar.*
The secondary school of general type just has general number of subjects.
Thank you for attention.
. . . just to be engaged in national economy.
The status of the education which you receive in institute . . .
I attended dancing circle.

Another instance of a type of error which probably has its source in the complexity of the English system has to do with the ways of modifying a noun. The following sentence came from the tape: *. . . an art school, or a musical school, or a school of actor . . . .* Here are three different ways of qualifying a noun in one sentence: *N + N; adj. + N; N + Prep. Phrase.* There are conditions under which each of these combinations is correct: *art school, music school, music box; musical person, musical chairs; a school of acting,* or *an acting school.* How to know? From the evidence, it appears to be difficult to know with certainty. Other examples of this type of error:

ERRORS: *sporting schools* (*cf.* the entirely acceptable *acting schools*)
lessons of physical culture
the secondary school of general type
the studies of the institute
extra-curriculum circles

Errors such as *lessons of physical culture* or *the studies of the institute* could also stem from a knowledge of the rules for such "genitive" structures as: *his place of work, the size of the Earth, the type of class*, all perfectly acceptable English. This hypothesis is further supported by the fact that in Russian, both types of structures are rendered with the genitive: the "true possessive" (the size of the Earth) as well as the others (*lessons of physical culture*). The students thus exhibit a faulty understanding of a distinction important in English.

In Russian, there is a single present tense which "translates" both the simple present and the present continuous in English. The Russian student learning English must learn the contexts which require one or the other, and to do this, he must rely on English since there is no corresponding system in Russian to "transfer." The following error from the tape reveals that for at least one student, the distinction as it exists in English is not entirely clear:

ERRORS: *They write and they draw pictures, they're having rest, playing different games and toys.*

Still another system absent in Russian, appears to be problematical for these students. This is the mass/count distinction in English. The following are examples of confusion in this area:

ERRORS: *I had a little bit more English classes.*
. . . a certain amount of marks . . .
a large amount of miles

As another example of an intralingual error, let's consider a case of overgeneralization of a rule. The students have apparently learned that adverbs take *-ly* in English, a very useful and workable generalization. However, it sometimes doesn't work and these two examples from the Writing Ability section of the TOEFL test, show that the students have formed a hypothesis about English based on their considerable language learning experience. On this part of the exam, the student had to indicate which of several underlined possibilities in a sentence constituted an error. Three students saw *late* as an error in *The game ended late . . .* Four students did *not* perceive *straightly* as erroneous in *They went straightly home.*

As a final example of an intralingual error we noted the following. Russian does not distinguish between the relative pronouns for people and things, a distinction very important in English. The

following error shows that the student has not mastered this distinction:

ERROR: *There is quite a lot of students which participate in scientific activities.*

We will now turn to a consideration or errors which may be traceable to some kind of transfer or interference. Since these students were studying other languages besides English (French and Spanish), these languages constitute another possible source of interference. They might even have interfered more than the native language, since they were more recently acquired and presumably less stable. They are probably perceived as "similar" to English, certainly to a greater extent than Russian, thereby increasing the interaction of the two languages. There were numerous errors which support this hypothesis and several which are ambiguous as to where the source of the interference is. The following are the errors and an attempted analysis.

ERRORS: *I think it is three years since they introduced . . .* (French, Spanish and Russian all have similar constructions using the present tense where English requires the present perfect.)

He passes exams (French: *Il passe des examens*) *and he gains . . .* (French: *gagner*; Spanish: *ganar* = English: *gain, win, earn.*)

At our faculty . . . (French: *faculté*, Spanish: *Faculta*, and Russian also has this word for English college, *department.*)

There is a special body . . . which renders help to . . . (French: *rendre service.*)

Somewhat 60% of total school time is passed on practical education. (French and Spanish: *passer, pasar* with time rather than *spend.*)

34 million of members (French: *million de* + Noun) but Russian would require the genitive after the numbers 2, 3, and 4 – here: *34.*

dancing circle (*circle* for club as in French *cercle.*)

the time where they worked (French: *le temps où . . .*)

It's about three feet and ½ (like French *trois pieds et demi*; this one is of particular interest because the Russian structure is like the English.)

Why not to try it anyway? (like French *Pourquoi pas l'essayer?* which uses infinitive and also like the Russian; this might also represent an analogy with the English: *He decided not to try it.*)

(The last two items are from the TOEFL Test, multiple choice.)

Also, structures such as *lessons of physical culture* could be the result of interference from French or Spanish (*lecons de culture*

physique; lecciones de cultura física). Of course the expression *physical culture* itself can be traced to all three languages.

Some of the errors made by these students might be due to the type of training they have received or the strategies they have adopted in learning English. For example, the structural approach which trains the students to fill in slots could lead to this error from the tape:

ERROR: *They continue to stay there from up to six years of age.*

In the sentence *They continue to + VERB* almost every verb in English qualifies for filling the VERB slot (read, write, speak, etc.) But there is a restriction on this rule — namely that verbs which already contain the semantic feature *+ continuity*, let's call it, can't follow *continue* in the pattern without producing a redundancy of the worst kind. Other verbs in this highly restricted class are: *continue, remain*, and two-word verbs *V + on*.
For example:

**He continued to remain in Spain.*
**He continued to continue the exercise.*

This could be classified as an intralingual error resulting from the failure to learn special conditions under which the rule does not apply.

Another pedagogical approach which might tend to produce errors is having students memorize idiomatic expressions as isolated units without enough attention to their syntactic contexts. This could lead to mistakes in production due to a mere memory failure or because of a failure to perceive anything systematic about the expression at all. It is likely that many expressions and even structures which are highly systematic as well are learned as holophrases.

ERROR: *They just have very good time there.*

This was already discussed as a case of the omission of the indefinite article. It might also be classified as a production error. Very likely the expression was learned as an unanalyzed unit, almost as a series of syllables, sort of like *Round John Virgin Mother and Child* or *My Country Tizuvthee.*

Another example of this is in the sentence:

ERROR: *The matter is that I had been dancing for 11 years.*

It sounds like a confusion of *The fact is that . . .* and *The fact of the matter is that . . .*, probably learned as simple formulas. Similarly, the following errors also strongly hint at a memorization strategy

without any real understanding of the structure or feeling for the "system":

ERRORS: . . . *those students who cannot for this or that reason catch with the rest of the group.* (for *keep up with*).

The best way to help is in keeping out of the kitchen. (*in keeping with* learned as a holophrase).

They're all made by hands. (memorized expression without analysis; but not entirely asystematic: *by ear, on foot, rule of thumb, hand over fist.* This might also be the influence of Russian which would translate "with hands.")

(These last two examples are from the TOEFL Test, selected as multiple-choice items on English Structure section.)

When a student learns a language in the classroom, the input is usually very controlled. He learns selected structures, idioms, and so forth. He aims at what has been called communicative competence. At the end of this instruction, he may be very fluent, able to communicate all his needs, emotions, and opinions, in nearly flawless English. He may even be able to "pass" as a native speaker. However, his knowledge does not necessarily equal that of the native speaker because part of the native speaker's knowledge consists of being able to characterize a given utterance as deviant or nondeviant. When the foreign student is speaking, he is in control; he can use those structures he is sure of, and speak "good" English. But on tests for which he is required to indicate whether a sentence is correct or incorrect, he may err, simply because of incomplete input. This is apparent on at least one item in the data. The student is asked to correct the incorrect sentences and to indicate which sentences are correct as is. Four students perceived one of the items as incorrect (it was correct) and three changed it in an acceptable way. In other words, they made a correct but unnecessary change.

Original Sentence:

She prefers talking with a person who will look her in the eye.

Changes: . . . *a person who looks her in the eye.* (Two students did this.)

She prefers to talk with a person . . .

This is evidence of a "say what you are sure of" strategy which is a very effective one, and one which incidentally raises again the question of the appropriateness of paper and pencil tests for measuring communicative skills of language learners. The fourth error was the following:

ERROR: *She prefers talking with a person who will look at her in the eye.*

It looks like the result of some teacher's conscientious drilling of *look at*, a generalization carried too far, but understandably so, since the class of exceptions is highly restricted: e.g., *look someone over, look someone up and down, look someone in the eyes.*

Finally, there is a whole range of language behavior displayed by learners of a second language which cannot strictly be classified as incorrect, although it sometimes is accompanied by errors. It is however, deviant in the sense that it is a preference for certain ways of expressing a given semantic content which are not the most frequent ways used by the native speaker. For example, let's consider the following sentences: *It is possible that he'll come; It is necessary that you be on time.* Both are correct, but the native speaker would be more likely to say: *He might come; You must be on time.* This preference on the part of the learner, which might also be termed an avoidance of the modal system of English, probably represents interference of another language which prefers these impersonal constructions, (*Il faut que vous arriviez a l'heure; Es posible que venga,* etc.) The following is an example of this type of behavior taken from the tape:

ERROR: *It's not necessary that the subject should be in the program.* (for: *The subject doesn't have to be in the program.*)

The students made several errors which show that they confused the modals in English, again probably intralingual errors. This could be the result of a training method which relies on translation or memorization rather than on really grappling with the system as it exists in English, learning the presuppositions governing the choice of a particular modal. For example:

ERRORS: *After finishing such schools, the student should have state examinations.* (instead of *must take.*)

Now secondary education is obligatory so everybody should study for ten years. (instead of *has to.*)

The above are preliminary interpretations of errors made during the Russian students' stay at SUNY at Albany. Such interpretations clearly support the views expressed elsewhere (e.g., Taylor, 1975; Jain, 1974), suggesting that factors other than native language interference play a major role in accounting for errors made by second language learners. Processes of overgeneralization, incomplete application of rules, individual learning strategies, and other factors noted above must all be considered in any attempt to account for errors made by learners of ESL. Viewing such errors not as alarming trans-

gressions to be ruthlessly eliminated but rather as learning products to be normally expected, may lead to a better understanding of the language learning process, and ultimately to more effective approaches to second language teaching.

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Language, Ethnic Boundaries, and Bilingual Education

Christina Bratt Paulston and
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Recently, in examining a colleague's research on the Canadian immersion programs, it struck me forcibly what a bother the Canadian language situation is, what a tremendous outpouring of energy and money — and strife.[1] I commented how much easier it would all be if the Franco-Canadians would just give up their French. She looked at me quizzically, grinned, and said: "Of course." Now, that simple exchange illustrates a number of issues that need to be considered in a discussion of bilingualism.

The reason for her initial puzzlement was that she for a moment took my remark as a scholarly statement about optative language policy goals for French-speaking Canada, although she knew very well that I was a supporter of cultural pluralism and concomitant bilingual education, and so she was puzzled. In other words, she was well acquainted with the particular bias with which I approach bilingualism and bilingual education. I am in favor of it. It is not only *my* bias; it is shared by every linguist and anthropologist I know of who does scholarly work on bilingualism and bilingual education. In all likelihood, it is a bias which is shared by most if not all of the participants at this conference. It is not a bias for which I apologize; rather I find it totally justified. But there is the crux; the burden is upon me to demonstrate such a justification and to do so on the

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basis of data and empirical facts. I find much writing and research on bilingualism and bilingual education flawed by a lack of objectivity, which influences the research designs as well as leads to unwarranted conclusions and speculations. The first Scandinavian Conference on Bilingualism is an appropriate time to acknowledge our bias, because it is only by acknowledging it that we can adequately control for it in our work as well as allow the reader a more accurate interpretation of our scholarly opinions.

Once my colleague realized what I meant, she agreed. Language diversity within nations frequently leads to a number of problems, especially in the educational sector, which may not occur in a monolingual state. Attempts at solutions frequently carry a high economic cost; e.g., federal funding alone in the United States for bilingual education in 1977 is $118 million. A common rejoinder among my colleagues is "Good, let them build one less atomic submarine." In other words, the perception and evaluation of the social results of ethnic groups in contact become a matter of priorities. It is undeniable, just as my colleague did not attempt to deny it, that social life in Canada would be simpler with only one language. But to her mind as to mine, increased efficacy and economy of communication do not justify the enforced loss of cultural identity and way of life of a people, a choice of priorities which ultimately is based on moral values.

Frequently reason has little to do with attempts at solutions. It is not reasonable for students to riot and get killed because the authorities want to teach one language rather than another in the schools, yet I think we all understand the Black reaction to the introduction of Afrikaans instead of English in South Africa. Afrikaans is a very powerful symbol for the hated oppression, and as I write this, the riots are continuing. Clearly Afrikaans in and by itself was not the real reason behind the revolt, but rather the reason lay in the nature of the relationship between the subordinate Blacks and the dominant whites. In our discussions on bilingualism and bilingual situations, we need to recognize that often the problem has nothing or little to do with language *per se*.

The present language situation in the province of Quebec is a result of a power struggle between the economically dominant Anglo Canadians and the politically dominant Franco Canadians. Through legal measures, the French have been able to enforce a knowledge of French as a requisite for access to a number of jobs. As a result, about 50% of the English speaking children in Montreal enter kindergarten in French immersion programs, (programs in which French is used as a medium of instruction[2]), with the hope by their parents that they will learn sufficient French in school to be able to qualify

for future positions. Language is used by the French as a mechanism for maintaining ethnic boundaries in order to deny English-speaking Canadians access to scarce jobs.

Language can similarly be used for the maintenance of ethnic boundaries in order to keep members within the group. The trilingual Old Order Amish is an example of a group who used language for the maintenance of group boundaries both to keep their members in and outsiders out. The Pennsylvania Old Order Amish is a Protestant religious group characterized by:

> horse and buggies for transportation, no electricity in their homes, farm animals for farming (the occupation most engaged in), education only to the eighth grade, plain dress, refusal to accept government benefits such as social security, and the use of Pennsylvania Dutch, a German dialect from the speech of German Rhenish Palatinate, German, and English. (Yoder 1976:2-3).

German is used for sermons, prayers, and bible reading from the Luther Bible, the 1534 translation from the Latin. Since Pennsylvania law requires school attendance until 15, many Old Order Amish spend an additional year after eighth grade in a special intensive program learning German, thus fulfilling the legal requirement while serving their own purpose. English is learnt in school and is used in any exchange with "English" or "gay" persons, as non-members are referred to. English is also used for non-religious reading. Pennsylvania Dutch is the mother tongue and is spoken in the home, always at church related social activities, and often to other church members even in the "English" world, such as in the grocery store (Yoder 1976). Members have strong feeling that

> German is the better form of the language, richer, deeper, more capable of expressing deep thoughts than either Pennsylvania Dutch or English. The deep thoughts in one's life are those relating to God. So take away German, and one has taken away that aspect of his life. (Yoder 1976:10).

For the deeply religious Amish, it is clear that the functional distribution of language use contributes to the motivation for staying within the church and for resisting the obvious temptations to join one of the less conservative churches, like that of the Mennonites, who do not have the same extreme restrictions on daily life. Nor do the Mennonites make similar use of language and indeed their present day high school generation is monolingual in English.

In this paper, I would like to examine the phenomenon of group bilingualism, the origin of the contact situations which lead to it, and the role of language in maintaining ethnic boundaries, especially in revitalization movements. We need to examine such issues because

we will never be able to understand the nature of bilingualism if we consider it as a uniform phenomenon. Bilingualism may be a universal condition but it serves a variety of functions which need to be considered for an adequate understanding of the social consequences of group bilingualism. Furthermore, group bilingualism more often than not is not stable, and becomes the major mechanism of language shift, a phenomenon which is poorly understood (Fishman 1966; Lieberson et al. 1975). Revitalization movements are likely to be a mechanism for language maintenance or language revival. Language shift and language maintenance, with or without concomitant bilingualism, are of course indicators of the degree to which ethnic boundaries are being maintained.

Gaarder (n.d.) makes the crucial distinction between elitist bilingualism and folk bilingualism. Elitist bilingualism is the hallmark of intellectuals and the learned in most societies, and one might add, of upper class membership in many societies as it certainly is in Scandinavia. It is a matter of choice. Not so with folk bilingualism which is the result of ethnic groups in contact and competition within a single state, where "one of the peoples become bilingual involuntarily in order to survive" (p. 4). Elitist bilingualism is not likely to be a mechanism for language shift or maintenance, and in this paper I will only consider folk bilingualism.

In an earlier paper (C. B. Paulston 1975b), I drew on Schermerhorn's (1970) "inductive typology" of *Comparative Ethnic Relations* in an attempt to analyze the consequences of bilingual education in North America, the direct result of ethnic groups in contact, and I would briefly like to review it here. Schermerhorn points out that "the probability is overwhelming that when two groups with different cultural histories establish contact that are regular rather than occasional or intermittent, one of the two groups will typically assume dominance over the other," (1970:68), and he says elsewhere it is the nature of this dominance which is the major factor in ethnic relations (1972:379ff). The central question then in comparative research in ethnic relations (immediate causal factors of a group's bilingual status) is "what are the conditions that foster or prevent the integration of ethnic groups into their environing societies?" (1970:14). The percentage of members of a group who become bilingual can be seen as a concomitant condition of the degree of integration. Schermerhorn sees three major causal factors as determining the nature of the relationship between ethnic groups and the process of integration into the environing society. The first refers to the origin of the contact situation between "the subordinate ethnic and dominant groups, such as annexation, migration, and colonization," the second to "the degree of enclosure (institutional

separation or segmentation) of the subordinate group or groups from the society-wide network of institutions and associations," and the third to "the degree of control exercised by dominant groups over access to scarce resources by subordinate groups in a given society" (1970:15).

Lieberson, Dalto and Johnston in a quantificationally very sophisticated article on "The Course of Mother-Tongue Diversity in Nations" (1975) point out the failure of developmental factors, such as urbanization, to account for cross-national changes in language diversity. They consider the very rapid language shift in the United States: "For the descendants of literally tens of millions of immigrants, English became the mother tongue in a matter of a few generations (Lieberson and Curry 1971). It is reasonable to ask how it came about that the shift was so rapid in the United States compared with that in the vast majority of nations" (1975:53). They conclude, like Schermerhorn, that one must consider the origin of the contact situation and go on to "develop a theory which suggests that the course of race and ethnic relations will be different in settings where the subordinate group is indigenous as opposed to those where the migrant populations are subordinate" (1975:53). They consider, similarly to Schermerhorn to whom they refer, four groups: (1) indigenous superordinate, (2) migrant superordinate, (3) indigenous subordinate, and (4) migrant subordinate. They find it unlikely that much, if any, mother-tongue shift will occur among the first two groups. "Almost certainly a group enjoying both political and economic dominance will be in a position to ensure that its linguistic position is maintained. Bilingualism may occur, but this is not the same as mother-tongue shift: At the very most, one can normally expect only an extremely slow rate of mother-tongue change among such groups" (1975:53). The role of Swedish in Finland illustrates that point and gives us an example of an ethnic group in demographic and political decline which uses its native tongue to maintain its boundaries for ethnic survival. (R. G. Paulston 1976b). Like the English-speaking Canadians in Quebec, the Swedish-speaking Finns lack political power in Finland and so are vulnerable to any legal measures the Finnish-speaking majority might institute in regard to Swedish. Presumably the status of Swedish as a *lingua franca* in Scandinavia (Skutnabb-Kangas 1975) and strong feelings of Scandinavian solidarity have contributed to the Finns' tolerance toward Swedish, but its continued role in Finland is best explained by the former superordinate status of its mother-tongue speakers.

Subordinate groups who are indigenous at the time of contact, either through colonization as in the case of the American Indians or through annexation as in the case of the Chicanos in the U.S.

Southwest, are unlikely to change rapidly. Migrant subordinate groups are the only groups likely to show rapid rates of mother-tongue shift, as the recent migrant Finnish working-class population in Sweden illustrates in so rapid a shift that there is anecdotal evidence of difficulties of communication between parents and children. In the United States, as Lieberson *et al.* show, the immigrant experience was one of extraordinary rapid shift. In contrast, within the same nation and with access to the same educational institution of public schooling, the indgenous subordinate groups have changed at a much slower rate. In 1940, 20% of the whites in Louisiana still reported French as their mother-tongue although the state had been purchased almost 150 years before, from France in 1803. In New Mexico, conquered in 1846, nearly 45% of the Native Parentage population (third or later generation) reported also in 1940, Spanish as their mother-tongue, which means that, since a fair proportion of this population was not of Spanish origin, much more than half of the Spanish-speaking population had not shifted (Lieberson *et al.* 1975). In contrast to Louisiana, the Southwest has a steady trickle of new immigrants, legal and illegal, from Mexico, and no one really knows the exact rate of language shift, but Thompson (1974) calculates that in Texas Spanish has remained the mother-tongue for eighty percent of the third generation.

The Indian population probably has been the slowest to become bilingual. Lieberson *et al* cite census data which show that as recently as 1900 slightly more than 40% of the Indian population could not speak English. Many of those who did speak English also maintained their Indian mother tongue, and Lieberson *et al* concludes that "it is clear that mother-tongue shift was far slower than for the subordinate immigrant groups" (1975:56).

The degree to which these populations become bilingual in mother-tongue and English varies, and the fact that many don't has resulted in national recognition of that problem in the form of federal legislation of the so-called Bilingual Education Act of 1968. The official intent of this act is the more efficient teaching of English through the transitional use of the mother tongue. The implementation of these programs, as I have written about elsewhere (C. B. Paulston, in press), is accompained by considerable strife by school personnel who cite their own immigrant experience background as example that there is no need for bilingual education. The militant minority ethnic groups, the Chicanos, the Puerto Ricans, the Navajos, refuse to accept the assimilationist goals of the programs, and instead talk about (and where they can, implement) bilingual/bicultural maintenance programs. It is a clear group conflict situation, played out in the educational sector, where the ethnic groups

are insisting on their rights to maintain their ethnic boundaries, much to the disapproval of the dominant Anglos.

These findings on language shift through a bilingual generation and language maintenance with or without concomitant bilingualism raise some issues which are important for a more accurate understanding of the nature of bilingualism. They also illustrate, I think, the importance of a comparative approach in this field of study. The first question which comes to mind is why would the immigrant experience result in such rapid language shift with no apparent educational problems when the indigenous groups encountered such difficulties; why have the latter maintained their mother-tongue and what is the mechanism of language maintenance? It is clear, I think, that the mechanism of language shift in the United States has been bilingualism:

> Immigrant languages disappear because they do not transfer from one generation to the next. Typically in the United States the first generation prefers to speak the non-English tongue, the second generation is bilingual, and the third claims English as its mother tongue, learning the immigrant language mainly through contact with the grandparents. The Spanish language seems to be an exception. (Thompson 1974:7).

What is not clear are the factors which resulted in the language maintenance or slow rate of shift of the indigenous populations. Just what is the role of mother tongue language in the ethnic minority groups and why do these groups insist on maintenance bilingual programs rather than accept the transitional assimilation goals? In the remainder of the paper, I shall attempt to deal with these issues.

Language shift can be seen as an indicator of integration into the environing society, and we can rephrase the first question slightly; why did the immigrants to the United States integrate into the larger society more rapidly and completely than did the indigenous groups? As Lieberson *et al* point out, one reason was that the indigenous groups already had a set of social and cultural institutions *in situ* through which they attempted to pursue their preconquest activities. Another reason was that they tended to be spatially isolated.

These two reasons are both subsumed under Schermerhorn's variable of degree of enclosure. The less the two groups share sociocultural institutions like the same churches, the same schools, the same jobs, the higher the degree of enclosure within that society. Schermerhorn points out that we do not have a very clear idea of the degree of enclosure of plural societies which are the result of annexation. In plural societies, "institutions of kinship, religion, the economy, education, recreation and the like are parallel but different in structure and norms. Ordinarily this is compounded by differences in language and sometimes by race as well" (1970:124). The relationship between degree of enclosure and the role of lan-

guage in the ethnic boundary maintenance process is not understood, and I cannot think of any study which has examined this particular problem. Clearly it is an important topic for future investigation.

The degree of control by the Anglo dominant group over access to goods and services also influenced the situation. The contact situations within the same nation between the Anglo Americans and the Chicanos, the Puerto Ricans, the Amerindians, were all the result of military conquest. The Chicanos were segregated to one part of town and only given access to menial type jobs. The Indians were isolated on reservations where no opportunity for jobs existed. The immigrants, on the other hand, were given access to jobs. Brudner's thesis (1972) that jobs select language learning strategies is one that I have never found an exception to. When jobs were available which required a knowledge of English, the ethnic minority members became bilingual. Without access to rewards, English was and is not salient.

Schermerhorn also posits three intervening or contextual variables which modify the effect of the independent variables. The most important is the agreement or disagreement between dominant and subordinate groups on collective goals for the latter, such as assimilation or pluralism. Schermerhorn sets up a paradigm of which one purpose is to specify the social contexts that can serve as intervening variables in answer to the scientific query, 'under what conditions?' " (1970:85). He bases his discussion on Wirth's typology of the different policies adopted by minority groups in response to their unprivileged position.

> These policies he called assimilationist, pluralist, secessionist, and militant. Briefly, assimilationist policy seeks to merge the minority members into the wider society by abandoning their own cultural distinctiveness and adopting their superordinates' values and style of life. The pluralist strategy solicits tolerance from the dominant group that will allow the subordinates to retain much of their cultural distinctiveness. The secessionist minority aims to separate or detach itself from the superordinates so as to pursue an independent existence. Finally, the militants . . . intend to gain control over the dominants who currently have the ascendency (1970:78).

Schermerhorn points out that assimilation and pluralism really refer to cultural aspects while secession and militancy refer to structural.

> To clarify this problem it is well to insist on the analytic distinction between culture and social structure. Culture signifies the ways of action learned through socialization, based on norms and values that serve as guides or standards for that behavior. Social structure, on the other hand, refers to "the set of crystallized social relationships which its (the society's) members have with each other which places them in groups, large or small, permanent or temporary, formally organized or

> unorganized, and which relates them to the major institutional activities of the society, such as economic and occupational life, religion, marriage and the family, education, government, and recreation" (Gordon, 1964:30-31). (1970:80)

In order to deal with the difficulty of applying cultural features to conditions which involve social features, he suggests the paired concepts of centripetal and centrifugal trends in social life. "Centripetal tendencies refer both to cultural trends such as acceptance of common values, styles of life, etc., as well as structural features like increased participation in a common set of groups, associations, and institutions" (1970:81). To keep the two aspects distinct, he calls the first assimilation, the latter incorporation.

> Centrifugal tendencies among subordinate groups are those that foster separation from the dominant group or from societal bonds in one respect or another. Culturally this most frequently means retention and preservation of the group's distinctive traditions in spheres like language, religion, recreation, etc., together with the particularistic values associated with them: Wirth's cultural requirements are needed, so there are demands for endogamy, separate associations, and even at times a restricted range of occupations (1970:81-2).

Schermerhorn's major point is that integration, which involves the satisfaction of the ethnic group's modal tendency, whether it be centripetal or centrifugal, depends on the agreement or congruence of views by the dominant and subordinate groups on the goals of the latter (1970:83):

CONGRUENT AND INCONGRUENT ORIENTATIONS TOWARD CENTRIPETAL AND CENTRIFUGAL TRENDS OF SUBORDINATES AS VIEWED BY THEMSELVES AND SUPERORDINATES

	A	B	
Superordinates	Cp	Cf	Tending toward Integration
Subordinates	Cp	Cf	
	Assimilation Incorporation	Cultural pluralism Autonomy	

	C	D	
Superordinates	Cf	Cp	Tending toward Conflict
Subordinates	Cp	Cf	
	Forced segregation with resistance	Forced assimilation with resistance	

Cp = Centripetal trends
Cf = Centrifugal trends

The immigrants' goals were clearly those of assimilation; they had voluntarily left "the old country" with its frequently unsatisfactory conditions behind. The indigenous groups, in contrast, did not seek contact with the dominant Anglos but found it imposed on them; their groups in their entirety were brought into the environing society with their culture intact. Today many subordinate ethnic groups in the United States do not want to abandon their cultural distinctiveness; rather they want access to goods and services, to the institutional privileges held by the English speaking middle class, i.e., economic incorporation but not assimilation. One important aspect of resisting assimilation is the maintenance of the mother tongue, in the same way as language shift is an important aspect of assimilation.

The goals for all non-English speaking groups as seen by the dominant group have always been assimilation, the acceptance of "the American creed," the socialization into American ways and values. Since this was also the goal of the immigrants, they willingly acquiesced to the assimilation process, and the relationship between the dominant group and the immigrants is best characterized by Cell A, a situation tending toward integration. Anything less became considered unpatriotic, and I have more than once when I criticized some feature of American life been told "if you don't like it here, why don't you go back to where you came from."

The indigenous groups, on the other hand, tended to resist assimilation, and their situation is symbolized by Cell D. It is slight wonder that, in a situation characterized by conflict, in which they resisted assimilation at the same time as they were denied access to goods and services and were separated institutionally from the English-speaking group, members of indigenous groups did not shift to English to the same degree and at the same rate as the immigrant group. The degree to which the indigenous groups became bilingual probably depended mostly on access to jobs which required a knowledge of English; the degree to which they maintained the mother tongue probably depended most on the resistance against assimilation. The affluent Amish, who are an exception to the immigrant experience of rapid language shift, exemplify both these points. They are perfectly bilingual as their business dealings with the "gay" world necessitate a knowledge of English, which they learn primarily in the public schools. They have stubbornly resisted assimilation into American mainstream culture for religious reasons and not only have they maintained the mother tongue but they also add standard German as an additional language, crucial to the transmittance of the group's basic values.

However, the use of census data to establish language shift as

Lieberson *et al.* do, masks the variation of language use between the various immigrant groups. Furthermore, assimilation is not necessarily an irreversible process. The United States has lately experienced a resurgence of ethnic awareness which brings into question the goal of complete assimilation for these ethnic groups. Elazar and Friedman discuss this new development of ethnic reaffirmation in American society in their perceptive *Moving Up: Ethnic Succession in America (1976).* They point out that ethnic identity has often been seen as a problem that must somehow be overcome. Social scientists have often considered religious and ethnic groups as "vestiges of a primitive past that are destined to disappear" (1976:4), but recent "writers on the 'new pluralism' have argued that racial, religious, and ethnic groups *are* a basic component of our social structure" (p. 5) who affect our institutions and at times are more powerful than economic forces in their influence.

As a result of the migration process, there has been a pattern of ethnic division of labor in the United States; e.g., the Irish have been drawn to local politics and civil service, the Slavic groups constitute a large part of labor in the coal mines and steel mills, while the Jews have been active *inter alia* in family style businesses. Elazar and Friedman point out that large groups within the American populace continue to be "ethnic outs" in "various stages of their own struggle to become 'ethnic ins.'" These groups of Italian, Slovak, Polish, Jewish, Greek, Hungarian, and Ukranian background "are still struggling for recognition, upward mobility and the preservation of modest gains laboriously achieved after years of struggle" (p. 19). It is no coincidence that (with the exception of Jewish which is not a language) all of those languages are still natively spoken in Pittsburgh and mark group boundaries which are isomorphic, with limited access to social rewards.

The capacity of the "outs" to change their status, say Elazar and Friedman, depends on their potential social and political power, their willingness to use unorthodox tactics, the extent of opposition, and their ability to evoke sympathy (p. 14). They have before them the example of the Blacks. Black gains during the 1960's and 1970's came about through ethnic solidarity and "were obtained primarily through the institutionalization of their own political strength" (p. 15), which during the sixties resulted in highly visible ethnic confrontations. The results of these ethnic confrontations led other groups to make demands — as groups. These demands come at a difficult time.

> From post-World War II through the late 1960's, America sustained rapid expansion and development of what has been called 'the metropolitan frontier.' There was a dramatic use of social, economic, and

> technical opportunities which the civil rights movement helped blacks to be able to take advantage of. Jobs, status and the good things of life were within the reach of growing numbers of Americans in an expanding economy (p. 21).

This expansion has now come to an end, and the present recession has exacerbated poverty and joblessness among the minorities. Unemployment has contributed to ethnic solidarity as the experience seems to show that competition for rewards is more successful when carried out by groups than by individuals, and the group boundaries have been those of ethnicity. (R. G. Paulston 1976c).

One resource of ethnic groups which can be used in stressing ethnic awareness and identity of the members is the original mother tongue. Pittsburgh radio stations, as do others in the country, carry radio programs in Italian, Slovak, Croatian, etc. The Slovak community here, for example, offers a non-formal course in Slovak culture, cuisine, music, and language. Its students are from all social classes and all ages. Many Polish (for instance) families are changing their surname from the anglofied version back to the original Polish. At the University of Pittsburgh, a number of students of Polish, Greek, Hungarian, etc. background, who have completely shifted to English, are laboriously studying the language of their grandparents. Clearly this language learning will serve no immediate practical purpose but it does serve to reaffirm their ethnic identity and to reinforce old boundaries which in their case had become eliminated.

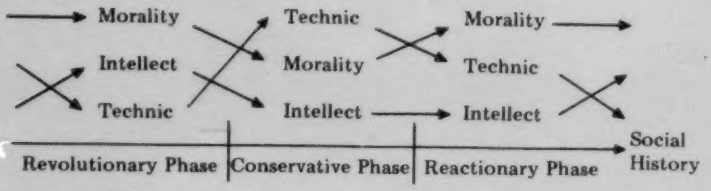
The most extreme form of ethnic mobilization occurs in what Wallace (1956) has termed revitalization movements, "deliberate, organized, conscious efforts by members of a society to construct a more satisfying culture" (1956:265). For Wallace, this process involves a cultural transformation of the group. For the purposes of this paper, I will extend the term to include ethnic revival movements as well (which may not be involved in a cultural transformation) since Wallace's concept of "revolutionary phase" (1975:22-23) applies to both movements.

In his *Schools in Revolutionary and Conservative Societies* (1975), Wallace discusses the learning priorities of the two types of society:

> What a man is expected to do in his life will, in part, depend on whether he lives in a revolutionary, conservative, or reactionary society. And what he is expected to do determines what he is expected to learn (1975:21).

He outlines the following model of learning priorities:

LEARNING PRIORITIES IN REVOLUTIONARY, CONSERVATIVE, AND REACTIONARY SOCIETIES



(Wallace 1975:26)

Wallace assigns very specific meanings to the terms *technic*, *morality* and *intellect*. By technic he refers to learning as a process of "reliability increase of action" through stimulus, reinforcement and motivation; technic is learning "how to." Morality, on the other hand, stresses "what." Morality concerns one particular kind of socially approved value:

> This kind of value is the conception that one's own behavior, as well as the behavior of others, should not merely take into consideration the attitude of the community, but should actively advance, or at least not retard, its welfare (1975:18).

Although most commonly practiced in the humble endurance of discomfort by inconspicuous people, it is "most conspicuously exemplified by such heroic actions as the soldier's throwing himself on a handgrenade in order to smother the blast and save his buddies" (1975:18). The criterion for morality is its potential for sacrifice, and all ethnic groups in the revolutionary phase have sacrificial heroes as leaders, i.e., leaders who are willing to risk freedom or life for the cause; Cesar Chavez and La Causa is a good example.

By intellect, Wallace refers to Jacques Barzun's metaphor in his *The House of Intellect* (1959) as an "establishment." Wallace cites Barzun:

> From the image of a house and its economy, one can see what an inquiry into the institution of Intellect must include. The main topics are: the state of the language, the system of schooling, the means and objects of communication, the supplies of money for thought and learning, and the code of feeling and conduct that goes with them. When the general tendency of these arrangements makes for order, logic, clarity, and speed of communication, one may say that a tradition of Intellect exists (1975:19).

Wallace concludes his discussion of intellect by pointing out that it is the only truly universal tool which is "capable of maintaining and restoring human arrangements against the erosions of time, capable of recognizing and solving new problems as well as learning answers to old ones" (1975:20).

A group, like the Nation of Islam (in common parlance often refered to as the Black Muslims), or an entire society, like Cuba, may enter a revolutionary phase when they perceive their present circumstances and state of affairs as intolerable to support further. The regressive response of individuals in the stage preceding a revitalization movement typically includes "alcoholism, extreme passivity and indolence, the development of highly ambivalent dependency relationships, intragroup violence, disregard of kinship and sexual mores, irresponsibility in public officials, states of depression and self-reproach, and probably a variety of psychosomatic and neurotic disorders" (1956:269). It is no accident that abstinence, hard work, independence, black brotherhood, the importance of the family unit, responsibility, and Black pride are some of the values most revered by members of the Nation of Islam (W. E. Mohammad 1976; see also *Bilalian News*).

As is typical and necessary in revitalization movements, the Nation of Islam has its charismatic leaders, especially the late Elijah Mohammad, who formulated "the nature of the existing culture's deficiencies, the nature of a desirable goal culture, and the nature and mode of operation of the transfer culture. This formulation must be more than an exercise of intellect: it must be passionately moral" (1975:22). It speaks for the explicatory power of Wallace's theoretical framework of revitalization movements that it was formulated years before the creation of the Nation of Islam, yet it perfectly accounts for its development.

Groups undergoing a revolutionary phase will always stress moral learning, and conflicts are certain to arise when a revitalization movement takes place within a conservative society where technic has the highest learning priority, i.e. "in conservative societies, schools prepare people not for sacrifice but for jobs" (R. G. Paulston 1972: 478). Indeed, wherever possible, the Nation of Islam has its own private schools in order to be able to implement its own learning priorities of "moral transformation of the population" (Wallace 1975:23). The success of a revitalization movement within a larger society, such as the economic and cultural success of the Nation of Islam, depends on the larger society's tolerance for cultural pluralism. The extreme respectability of the members in dress and in emphasis on moral values which are not in conflict with those of the mainstream culture presumably have contributed to this success.

Nor has there been any attempt to use language, so called non-standard Negro English or Black English, in the process of defining the group's new identity.

The success of the Nation of Islam contrasts sharply with the fate of another Black revitalization movement, the Black Panther Party. The second learning priority in a revolutionary phase is intellect, and says Wallace, the moral intellectuals often appear as fanatics to the conservative society. It is interesting to speculate that the failure of the Black Panthers partially was due to an emphasis on intellect rather than on morality and to the lack of a consistently outlined goal culture as the Nation of Islam very carefully had done:

> The Panthers, however, like many other groups before them had a number of shortcomings. Probably the main one was the lack of a thorough radical analysis and coupling that with a strong, organized set of strategies and programs. As with many other groups, publicity and their image may have clouded their own ideas of what they wanted to do. But, when as they sometimes seemed to be doing, the leadership changed its views so often, with not enough outside feedback to guide them, they did amazingly well . . . (Mason 1976:56).

The main point is that leadership in revitalization movements is messianic and does not depend on outside feedback nor is the moral teaching of goals frequently changed. The Black Panthers were militant; they carried loaded weapons; while still legal; cited Malcolm X, the assasinated Black leader, Mao Tse-tung and Marx; and some with Eldridge Cleaver called for underground terrorist-type activities. Huey Newton, a co-founder, titled his book *To Die for the People: The Writings of Huey P. Newton* (1972). The larger society considered them as fanatics and showed no tolerance: Cleaver went eventually into exile for many years, and Newton was jailed for the murder of a policeman (he was freed in 1970 after two years in jail). Says Mason, "The trial of Huey P. Newton itself is regarded by many educators, as well as lawyers, ordinary black citizens, etc. as truly revealing the racist character of the legal system" (1976:24).

The writings of the Black Panthers are also in impeccable standard English, but in their speeches there are occasional occurences of Black English for stylistic effect, to mark group solidarity. Ethnic groups typically use the mother tongue or dialect to such purpose, and the reluctance in both Black revitalization movements to use Black English reflects its stigmatized status as a former creole. To members of the Nation of Islam, Black English is associated with the conditions of life before their cultural transformation and plays no part in the group's moral teaching. It should be recognized that this is an unusual situation in revitalization movements.

Language skills in the official language can ordinarily be seen as

an aspect of technic, an aspect of preparation for jobs, which is the major priority of learning in a conservative society. The mother tongue, on the other hand, is an aspect of moral learning, reaffirming the solidarity and cultural uniqueness of the ethnic group, underscoring the need to teach the moral values of good and evil, right and wrong, the values of the old gods, in the language in which those values were originally transmitted. Reaffirmation of cultural values are frequently a part of the moral teaching, especially among ethnic groups who prior to the revitalization movement have been taught by the dominant group to have nothing but contempt for their own culture.

The conflict over learning priorities explains the extreme importance of control over local educational institutions. I have frequently heard commented among my colleagues that the best bilingual schools are those that are under community control — be it Navajo or Chicano. I am not certain what "best" means in this connection. In my discussion of the Erickson report (1969) in an earlier paper, I pointed out that "rhetoric about cultural pluralism accounts for little if the objectives are not implemented" (C. B. Paulston 1975a:25); the community-run Navajo school, as measured by the achievement test batteries from the California Test Bureau, was markedly inferior to the government-run school academically. I was at the time only interested in investigating the learning of English language skills, but even so that statement — and the evaluation itself — shows our typical tendency to assess and evaluate the schooling of groups undergoing a revitalization movement with moral learning as the priority, in terms of the standards of the conservative society—the standards of technic.

The following case study of "Ethnic Revival and Educational Conflict in Swedish Lapland" (R. G. Paulston 1976a) illustrates the importance of autonomy over educational programs by the group in a revitalization phase. It illustrates once again the tendency to intolerance of cultural pluralism by the larger society except when it sees its own purposes furthered; consistently, when the national economy favored reindeer herding, the collective goals for the Lapps as seen by Swedish officials included the use of Lappish and support of *Same* culture; otherwise, the goals were Swedish and assimilation. We also see here the typical support (maintenance and/or revival) of the mother tongue in ethnic revival movements.

Swedish government relations with the Lapps began with the Lappmard edict of 1673 which sought to open the Lapp's traditional homeland to Swedish settlers and the State Church.[3] This document promulgated a policy of minority integration, along with descriptions of stereotypical minority attributes, that has continued

in large part down to the present day (cited in Ruong 1969b:203). It states that:

> (1) Lapps should devote themselves to reindeer breeding in the mountain areas, a task for which they are best suited.
>
> (2) Swedish settlers should have the right to take land from the Forest Lapps, to hunt and fish on Lapp lands, and to burn and clear Lapp land.
>
> (3) The Lapps are a barbaric people from elsewhere without legal title to the land they use. They are lazy and useless in war.

In the following centuries, two themes pervaded ethnic relations. The dominant theme called for Lapps to withdraw before the advance by rejecting their language and other core cultural traditions and becoming Swedes.

The second and lesser theme, that the Lapp minority should be preserved and protected, largely through paternalistic efforts of the Swedish State Church, became increasingly important in the 19th century as traditional Lapp nomad society disintegrated under the onslaught of expanding Scandinavian societies. With a cultural-revitalization movement led by the minister Lars Laestadius, thus ensuring strengthening of social responsibility, and the increased value of reindeer herding in the national economy, educational policy for the Lapps shifted emphasis from acculturation to socialized isolation (Nordberg 1956; Ruong 1969b). By about World War I, what might be called the "conservationist" ideology had gained predominance and became embodied in the Normal School Reform of 1913. The Act's rationale, both economic and educational, is clearly apparent in the position stated by the Bishop of Lulea, a leader of the school reform and the religious head of the Lappmark (cited in Ruong 1969b:142):

> Lapps lack the physical attributes necessary for regular, heavy manual labor and therefore fall into deep poverty and misery when they adopt a settled way of life. If, on the other hand, they continue with reindeer breeding, they can count upon a secure source of livelihood. It is, accordingly, of national economic interest that the Lapps retain their inherited source of livelihood.

The vast tundra and mountain areas of Northern Scandinavia could, at that time, be most economically exploited as pasture for reindeer, and herding required that the Lapps live a nomadic existance. Thus, the question of "What is an appropriate education for Lapp children?" became clearly linked to the importance of reindeer breeding for the national economy. Or as stated in the 1913 school reform, "a Lapp shall be a Lapp, for then he serves his motherland best." Swedish educational policy continued, especially with the 1928

Reindeer Pasture Act, wherever possible to keep the Lapp children within Lapp culture and the nomadic economy (Ruong 1969b).

Following World War II, the conservationist policy came under heavy attack from Lapps seeking greater educational opportunity, and from the Swedish Government which had replaced the Church in the control of Lapp schooling. The Swedish Missionary Society's educational efforts then focused almost entirely on the Lapp's Folk High School founded during World War II (1942) and located above the Artic Circle at Jokkmokk after 1945. In this residential "folk college," *Same* youth in their late teens received training in general citizenship, local and national history, reindeer breeding, and other practical subjects. Continuing the "Lapp will be Lapp" orientation, students were encouraged not to let the two-year course seduce them away from reindeer herding. A policy statement at that time, for example, stressed that:

> Not by following Sweden and things Swedish, but by promoting your mother tongue will you be best fitted to contribute to the common treasures of the father-land. As Lapps, it is through following your own ways of living and by remaining faithful to your culture that you will keep your place as a part of the Swedish nation (Ruong 1969a:142).

Many young Lapps leaving the Lapp Folk High School returned to the herding way of life, and a number became leaders in subsequent ethnic organizational development, as in the Swedish Reindeer Herders Association founded in 1950. Others became school teachers and taught *Same* children in settled communities and in nomad schools. A third very small group moved into mainstream Swedish society and culture through subsequent professional training. But a number of these assimilated Lapps maintained feelings of ethnic solidarity with their *Same* origins and a concern for greater social justice in *Same* attempts to fend off powerful state and private interests seeking the continued economic exploitation of Lapland's rich natural wealth of minerals, timber, water, and scenery (Wallmark 1958).

Thus, by the 1950's Swedish authorities offered two distinct educational programs for *Same* children. For those who lived by reindeer herding, the Nomad Schools, which had become fixed and residential, continued to stress skills and values thought necessary for a nomadic life. For children of the growing number of *Same* employed in forestry, agriculture, and fishing, regular primary and, less frequently, secondary schools were bulit in rural areas — schools taught entirely in Swedish and attended by Swedish youth, schools where the Lapp language and culture were viewed as inferior, and where Lapp ethnic identity was undesirable and, when possible, to be denied. School failure of Lapp children was and is common.

In their public school experiences, generations of *Same* youth have learned that being a Lapp and speaking Lappish was strongly associated with defeat, contempt and poverty (With 1967; Ostlund 1973).

With increasing pressure from the Swedish Social Democratic Government for the acculturation and out-migration of *Same* youth, with continued serious infringement of forest and pasture land by "clear-cutting" forestry practices, by tourism, by mining and water-power development interests, et al., the Lapps, a distinct people with thousands of years of traditions as an ethnic community, began to seriously doubt their ability to survive in the early 1950's (Wallmark 1958; Park 1959; Otnes 1970; Lundegard 1973).

Until recently, upwardly mobile Lapps could avoid career defeat only by "paying" with their identity. One was either a Lapp, a Swede, a Norwegian, or a Finn. The few *Same* who achieved assimilation, or any *Same* for that matter, rarely protested this cost-mechanism (Porsanger 1965). A few exceptions can be found, mostly among teachers, or isolated individuals who by paying the price had come to know the ideal democratic ideology of the dominant segment, and by simple transfer had come to see the plurification process as an injustice to a cultural minority (Eidheim 1968). By attempting to point out what might be viewed as a moral injustice according to the dominant group ideology, they jeopardized their careers, were denounced as threats to national security by their superiors, and were generally viewed with alarm by Lapps who rightfully feared the consequences of such public role-mixing. Most early Lapp critics of existing ethnic relations and internal colonization in Lapland were crushed. A few promoted such noncontroversial "minority activities" as folk arts and crafts in efforts to maintain *Same* identity while filling roles reserved to the dominant segment.

Following World War II, a number of important changes at the national and international level created new conditions favorable to efforts of Lapp intellectuals with support from individuals and institutions in the dominant segment to create a *Same* ethnic movement. This collective effort brought together for the first time those who identified with Lapp culture and sought to address serious economic and cultural problems resulting from the position of structured inequality that the *Same* had long occupied in the national society. Simultaneously, rapid economic growth and aggressive exploitation of natural resources in traditionally Lapp areas had seriously detrimental effects on the herding economy (Svensson 1970). At the international and national levels, wartime efforts by Nazi Germany to exterminate the Jewish ethnic minority, and strong Scandinavian support for the United Nations' work on human

rights, helped to bring the problem of ethnic survival home and to stimulate national debate on the rights and status of under-privileged minorities within the Scandinavian countries (Fimerstad 1973). Accordingly, the dominant segment became more conscious of supposed injustices in the plurification system, and with support from influential professors, teachers, radical socialists and others, *Same* ethnic activists gained a consensus of sorts as to a movement rationale and program (Otnes 1970; Svensson 1970).

Since the 1950's the *Same* cultural-revival movement has sought to mobilize minority identity through the creation of new organizations that embody the movements's ideology of survival and resistance to acculturation (Eidheim 1968).

These groups, in turn, have brought pressure on institutions of the dominant society to respond favorably to Lapp demands for altered ethnic relations, for a more culturally pluralistic society where *Same* cultural survival and *Same* participation will be accepted as legitimate national concerns. Lapp organizations in the past decade, for example, have called for a number of basic changes in the nine-year comprehensive school that most of their children attend. This reform program places priorities on bilingual instruction in Lappish and Swedish during the early grades, the creation of bilingual teacher-training programs, a revised curriculum including *Same* history and cultural themes, and a secondary school program especially adapted to the needs of reindeer-herding culture and management.

The conflict of interests that arise from intensifying government efforts to assimilate and incorporate the Lapps into the Swedish Welfare State, and Lapp efforts to move towards a more autonomous situation in a more culturally pluralistic society are clearly evident in the schools.

Same students, despite recent special educational arrangements, continue as a group to be under-achievers, withdrawn, and seemingly unable to succeed in national schools. A well-known Lapp educator, the Norwegian Anton Hoem, contends that the causes are to found in competing and conflicting ideologies — i.e., those of the ethnic movement, and those of the national society:

> The investments in special teacher training, textbooks, and literature in Lappish, introduction of Lappish language and culture as subjects are efforts to raise the efficiency of teaching within the established system. They are not efforts to adapt the school to the particular needs and values of Lappish society. Therefore, one will find different standards. In fact, the more efficient the teaching, the greater the discrepancy between goals of education at home and in the school . . . The main results are a cultural and social gap between the most successful pupils

and the local Lapp society, and a barrier between losers and the nation-wide system (Hoem 1968).

Same movement activists have come to recognize that formal schooling, despite gestures toward bilingual instruction, is essentially about the business of assimilation and social control, and not the strengthening of cultural pluralism. They have, accordingly, in the past few years sought to develop an alternative educational setting where movement ideology could be developed to shape goals, new learning, and action strategies. The Lapp Folk High School, a residential school for young adults at Jokkmokk in the Forest Lapp area above the Arctic Circle, has begun to carry out this function but only with protracted conflict with the local Commune authorities who reject the legitimacy of "Lapp Power" slogans, the *Same* ethnic-revival movement, and the emergence of a Lapp-controlled folk school (Lidroth 1074). Despite local pressures and forceful arguments by a number of Commune leaders to change the school's name and orientation from the Lapp's Folk High School to something like "Jokkmokk Commune's F. H. S.," a small core of *Same* activists have, during the past several years, used the school to develop an educational strategy seeking to mobilize individual *Same* into a politicized ethnic-interest group (Ostlund 1973).

Although the *Same* remain a minority on the folk high school's board of directors and must share control with representatives of the provincial government and the antagonistic local Commune, a number of notable innovations have been secured, albeit with growing animosity between Lapp students and the Swedish population both at Jokkmokk and throughout Northern Sweden. Studies of how ethnic groups mobilize for political action suggests a number of basic problems that each group must solve (Barth 1969). These include questions about the distinctiveness of the group, and the need for agreement on standards by which group members can judge themselves and others and determine who lies within the ethnic boundary, and who lies without. These concerns, as well as problems of communication, decision-making, authority and the legitimate use of power, of ideology and discipline, and of the indoctrination necessary to keep ideology alive have all been addressed by educational activities at the Lapp's FHS. Before examining these activities, it may be useful to note that ethnicity has previously been viewed here as a phenomenon useful in the categorization of people. At the folk school, ethnicity has also been a tool employed strategically by movement activists seeking to assist *Same* youth to negotiate new individual identities, commitments to struggle, as well as the learning of organizational and communications skills needed to advance the movement's manifest goals of *Same* cultural revival and

ethnic-minority survival.

Where the Swedish Missionary Society used the Lapp's Folk High School during the 1940's and 1950's to further the national ethnic policy of socialized isolation, today, Lapp activists fight to gain complete control of the school and use it to address their problems and dreams of survival as an ethnic minority in a pluralistic society. Where earlier many of the Reindeer Herder's Association leaders had their first training in formal organizational life and social science at the school, today special courses are offered that focus on problems of collective action and minority mobilization. These critical seminars are taught and attended by Lapps of different socio-economic backgrounds and seek to unify the Lapps as an ethnic group. Lapps from the mountains, the forests, and the cities with differing professions and life-styles meet, discuss, and develop movement ideology and action strategies to strengthen ethnic identification and to gain greater acceptance from a strongly ethnocentric Swedish society.

Courses in the Lapp language are also provided and related to the movement's literary and journalistic activities. Classes in Lapp history and handicrafts, in reindeer management, and administrative techniques all view *Same* culture from perspectives that seek to raise students' consciousness of ethnic membership and the legitimacy of the group's dreams of survival and antonomy. The critical seminars, especially, have frequently been starting points for reformulating the movement's ideological framework, i.e., the "world view" from which most Lapp political actions follow. The joint Nordic Lapp Culture Policy Statement of 1970 entitled, in English, "We are Lapps and Want to Remain Lapps" clearly indicates efforts in stating the movement's argument and goals (Svenska Samernas Riksförbund 1975). It is also a document that owes much to the educational and political work of *Same* movement activists and supporters at the Lapp's Folk High School.

The Lapp's Folk High School today presents an example of an educational institution actively seeking to advance a process of ethnic revival, confrontation and resistance to acculturation that is for the most part viewed unfavorably by members of the dominant society. At the local level, Swedes press for rapid acculturation and incorporation through, if necessary, forced assimilation. At the national level, assimilation is sought instead through a policy of "tvåkulturell utbildning," or bicultural education where Swedish and *Same* studies will supposedly be given equal value and emphasis (Norrbottenslän 1968). So far, *Same* activists have been largely able to subvert this policy at Jokkmokk and stress the latter. But as this tolerant situation may end at any time, the ethnic movement is press-

ing for a state-supported rural folk high school under complete *Same* control (Östlund 1973:287-88).

While most Lapps are sympathetic to the movement's broad goals, many express concern about the possible consequences of conflict. One of their older leaders has put it thus: "We are not a warlike people and we don't fight. Our culture is primitive, and I suppose we have to give in to the stronger one." Many younger Lapps reject the resignation of their elders and, under the rubric of "Lapp Power," seek to fight back: "We are not Norwegians, Swedes, or Finns. We are different and we intend to stay that way." It is this small activist group which seeks to make the Lapp's Folk High School its own, much to the consternation of many fearful Lapps, the Jokkmokk Commune, and the National Board of Education (Lidroth 1974; Sammallaht, 1975).

Conclusions

It is clear that language maintenance of an ethnic group reinforces the boundaries between that group and the larger society. Boundary maintenance reinforces the ethnic identity of a group and is undertaken for a number of reasons: religious, as in the case of the Amish; politico-economical, as in the case of the French speaking Canadians; or economic, as in the case of the immigrant American Italian, Slovak, Polish, etc. groups. Often, the major function of language in boundary maintenance is to enable a group to resist assimilation: this is as true of the former superordinate, migrant *Finlands-svenskarna* as it is of the subordinate, indigenous Lapps who both use language as a weapon in the fight for ethnic survival.

The degree to which a goup becomes bilingual depends partly on the larger society's willingness to let that group assimilate, to grant that group access to the social institutions, and partly on the availability of jobs which require a knowledge of the official language. The Canadian French immersion programs form a very good example of how job language requirements influence language learning strategies.

Group bilingualism is frequently accompanied by language shift to the official language when there are ample, material rewards in so doing. Institutional enclosure may not be an issue as long as the parallel institutions are open. The French Canadians, who massively shifted to English (and gave cause to the legal measures) in spite of parallel institutions of church, school, recreation, etc., are a case in point. Many migrant superordinate groups do not seem able to maintain their original mother tongue once they are (legally-politically) separated from the home culture as in the case of the Normans and the Franks; probably demographic factors were also at issue (Thom-

ason and Kaufman n.d.). Spanish certainly has been maintained in colonized Latin-America. It is a temptation to claim that language shift takes place when the socio-economical and political rewards of a nation, which are accessible, favor such a shift, but it is likely to be a simplification. It is a claim which is likely to account for the majority of situations of language shift but it will not necessarily account for situations where one would expect language shift but does not find it. It may be that the spatial isolation of the Lapps can account for the maintenance of Lappish, but it is more likely to be an expression of ethnic identity which will not be surrendered, a mechanism of ethnic boundary maintenance.[4]

Linguists do not have a clear understanding of these issues, and my contention is that in order to understand the nature of bilingualism we need to consider the relationship of these issues. In this paper I have indicated the direction I believe such a discussion should take, but it is very obvious that this paper is only a beginning.

Footnotes

1 This paper is co-authored in that the *Same* case study is written by R. G. Paulston and the rest of the paper by C. B. Paulston. The case study is a much shortened version of the original "Ethnic Revival and Education Conflict in Swedish Lapland."

2 For references to the research on the Canadian immersion programs, see Merrill Swain's "Bibliography: Research on Immersion Education for the Majority Child."

3 The following excerpts are from R. G. Paulston's "Ethnic Revival and Educational Conflict in Swedish Lapland," *Comparative Education Review*, 20:2, 1972, 179-192. Permission to reprint is gratefully acknowledged.

4 It should be pointed out somewhere that many members of the ethnic groups discussed in this paper do shift languages and assimilate into the larger society, and that this discussion deals with what sometimes amounts to a minority within a minority.

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Evaluation of Community Involvement in Curriculum Development in Bilingual Schools

Norman C. Gold

Overview

This paper reports on a project conducted in the Spring of 1975 which included field interviews and observations in ten bilingual education programs in Connecticut and Massachusetts (cf. Appendix A). The purpose of the study was to gather data which would facilitate the preparation of a framework and an instrument for evaluating community involvement in curriculum development in bilingual schools.[1] The paper presents a rationale for such involvement, describes barriers which must be overcome in order for such participation to take place, and suggests a framework for evaluation of that involvement. Included as Appendix B is an "Interview Guide", which is seen as a possible facilitator for community organization as well as an instrument for data collection. A bibliographic essay completes the work.

Rationale for Community Involvement

There is now a clear basis in law in Massachusetts for curricula in bilingual programs which provide instruction in the history and culture of the children in those programs. In the pursuit of information regarding how such curricula are developed for bilingual schools, it has become apparent that in many cases they are not developed at

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[1] "Community" is used in this paper to refer to parent and non-parent members of an ethnic/language minority group which sends its children to schools with bilingual programs.

all. There is a need for curricula which incorporate *community-specific* elements as well as elements whose sources are national or even multi-cultural perspectives. Those community-specific elements — content as well as methodology — can only be included in the curriculum by means of some reference to, and interaction with the local community.

The curriculum in bilingual schools must be bicultural. That is, it must provide recognition for the home culture — its values, behaviors, beliefs, and traditions — and must also provide the child with opportunities to learn the appropriate behaviors and frames of reference which prevail among the dominant, majority society.

Insofar as a bicultural curriculum is feasible, there may be two courses of action taken by programs committed to its development.

The first and most frequently observed procedure is for the program to hire teachers — and perhaps even a "curriculum specialist" — of the same general language and ethnic background of the community, and assign those individuals the task of *selecting materials* from among the large body of published items in that language which may serve the needs of the community. We will examine the pitfalls of such a solution in a moment, but suffice it to note the initial error of focussing on materials and not on curricular goals and the needs of the community.

The second course of action — and the one advocated here — is for the program to form a curriculum team consisting of teachers, parents, curriculum specialists, students and others from the community. The assignment for this team would be to conduct an investigation into the community in order to postulate and confirm curricular goals. It would then initiate a process of curriculum development in detail, and only after this had been accomplished would the team seek relevant materials or encourage the production of materials and teaching aids locally. Community involvement in every stage of design and development would assure the inclusion of community-specific elements in the curriculum.

Some general theory relating to community involvement is pertinent to the concerns of this paper. Qamar's article (20) on clientele participation provides support for the concept of community involvement in terms of long range organization and leadership-building.[1] For a sense of their own current needs, "the people are the best planners, and they make the best choices for themselves" (20, p. 2).

By participation in the process of curriculum development sub-

[1] Figures in parenthesis refer to works listed in the bibliography accompanying this article. (*eds.*).

stantial community education may take place which can lead to future responsible and independent decisions. By means of this involvement the target population can better resist the forces of the system which, " . . . tend to mold the learner to the educator's own concept of society," (20, p. 3). In addition, parent participation in this and other aspects of schooling will likely, " . . . speed up the process of change and create active leadership." (20, p. 3)

These theoretical considerations are useful in that they provide a wider perspective on the problems and potential of community development. Yet the most compelling rationale for community involvement arises from the need to counter a set of dysfunctional, disruptive and often illegal practices of the educational establishment. These practices are noted in Lurie's discussion of New York City Schools (12), and have been observed by this author in the course of this investigation. They can only be curbed by direct participation of the community in matters affecting the schooling of its children.

In spite of the occasional intervention of federal agencies, the federal judiciary, and recent Supreme Court decisions favoring bilingual education, the only viable counterforce to local school district intransigence is the local community.

It will help to briefly describe some of the practices alluded to above. No politician or coalition of educators stands a better chance of altering these practices than an organized parent and community group which is prepared for a sustained challenge to the local school administrators. Although some of the practices relate more to administrative procedures than to the content of instruction, they form part of the unstated curriculum of the school and directly affect the character and quality of instruction.

Here then are six examples of practices noted by the writer in the course of this study:

1) There is a consistent hyper-enforcement of the transitional nature of the Transitional Bilingual Education (TBE) law in Massachusetts, which leads to an interpretation of the law as requiring an absolute *maximum* of three years for transition to English dominance. This hyper-enforcement of one provision of the TBE Law is balanced neatly with under-enforcement of the requirements for the teaching of the language and culture of the child.

The law states clearly:

> A child of limited English-speaking ability enrolled in a program in transitional bilingual education may, at the discretion of the school committee and subject to the approval of the child's parent or legal guardian,

continue in that program for a period longer than three years. (2, Sect. 2, Para. 4, emphasis added).

In spite of such a provision, none of the programs observed reacted favorably to request for extensions.

2) Some bilingual teachers are required to teach subject matter for which they have no credentials, to teach up to four or five different subjects, and to work with children across age or grade levels which would be totally unacceptable in any school program for Anglo, middle class children.

3) Under the pretense of providing personnel for bilingual programs, some schools have used state or federal funds for needs unrelated to the bilingual programs.

4) Children are arbitrarily assigned to bilingual classes without the benefit of language dominance testing or any other objective measure which would help assure their being placed in a class that could meet their needs. Potentially misleading criteria such as ethnic surname, results of standardized tests given only in English, subjective judgements of monolingual teachers and counselors, and other extraneous factors are consistently being used to place children in classes taught in Spanish and other languages. Children considered to be behavior problems by Anglo teachers are prime candidates for assignment to the bilingual program regardless of their language skills.

5) In a sometimes sincere effort to provide for the needs of a given community, the schools have hired curriculum specialists who may merely be of the same general language background as the community. They may indeed be as myopic toward the specific socio-economic and cultural conditions which surround that population of a given town as any monolingual Anglo might be. A counselor from Spain or a teacher from Puerto Rico may not necessarily have a clear understanding of the needs of the Puerto Rican population of Hartford or Springfield. In addition to the error of assuming that all Spanish-speakers are alike, some school administrators use these professionals to substitute completely for the participation of the community in delineating its own curriculum needs.

6) At least two communities were noted teaching Spanish and Portuguese as a first language (L_1) with the same sets of language arts objectives and the same methodology utilized in the teaching of English as L_1 to Anglo students. In this case the methodology *is* the curriculum. The unstated curriculum teaches children a Spanish language that is broken down and analyzed as if

it were English, and denies the unique personality, character, and particular modes of communication which exist in all speech communities.

The above examples of observed practices in bilingual programs in Massachusetts and Connecticut are only a few of the practical challenges which cry out for community involvement and confrontation. But it would be misleading to suggest that such involvement will or could appear overnight. Indeed, very little community participation was observed in the programs visited, although no claim is made that a thorough evaluation was conducted of any of these programs.

Two of the projects reviewed in federal documents (19, 5) which appear to have exemplary parent participation components, have relied on a long process of community development, and have established mechanisms for coordination of community involvement. The community coordinator made over 200 visits during the five months reported in the Lame Deer project of the Northern Cheyenne Bilingual Program (19, p. 50). The Garfield Complex assigns an important decision-making role to the parent council which is charged with deciding which proposals will receive portions of a several-thousand dollar fund set aside for mini-grants in the community (5, p. 22). Participation by parents in the Parent Advisory Council (PAC) in Worcester, Massachusetts has been growing over the last four years, and is just now beginning to include some parent involvement in the curriculum. In Hartford, federal funding over four years and almost complete community control in some aspects of school operation have provided a fertile setting for parent participation observed in *La Escuelita.* But such direct participation is the definite exception, not the rule.

There are numerous barriers to effective community involvement in the schools. Some of these are related to the most obvious issues of language and culture; others are tied to issues of class and political power. A brief review of these barriers will provide background for the framework of evaluation proposed in this paper.

Barriers to Effective Community Involvement

High mobility of the population is one factor which makes it extremely difficult to generate consistent, sustained participation of the community in matters related to schooling. Numerous variables contribute to this mobility — including seasonal employment, facility of transportation, etc. — and most programs in this region made note that mobility was greater among Puerto Ricans than among Greeks and Portuguese.

Recent immigrants from Europe are inhibited from involvement in the schools due in part to the historical professional control of the schools in the old country. These traditions form barriers of class and status which are difficult to overcome. To a lesser extent this old world elitism still obtains among the traditional communities of Puerto Rico. Poor parents approach the schoolyard painfully aware of the difference in status between themselves and the teacher.

Of a slightly different nature is the professionalization of instruction in our own schools which leads the teacher and principal to distrust any judgements of laypersons in matters of schooling. The result is the same: parents are discouraged from meaningful participation in the schools.

The difficulties of internal communication among members of the same language/ethnic group may be an additional hindrance to community organization. The variation within each group includes sharp differences in political leanings, class, levels of formal education, degrees of acculturation, extent of bilingualism and ethnic consciousness, and religious affiliation, among others.

None of the minorities should be considered as a monolithic block. Wide variation is the rule for speakers of Portuguese, Spanish and Italian. Experience tells us that this *must* be so for all but the most isolated, remote communities. Such diversity requires extraordinarily favorable conditions to develop optimal working relationships within a given community, and to permit constructive application of community energies to the needs of the schools.

The need for sustained, long-term involvement is also a barrier to effective participation. The reality of the political environment and school bureaucracy is such that parents must demonstrate a staying power over several academic cycles before any changes may be observed in the schools. The Lame Deer and Garfield projects — and numerous others — have institutionalized the role of parents and incorporated paid community organizers to provide for some continuity. As the Lame Deer program grew, they included funds for "subsistence" payments to community "volunteers" in order to expand, legitimize and institutionalize the involvement of the community in the bilingual program (19, p. 65).

The involvement of parents within the schools in paid and volunteer positions may help maintain the level of community participation. The staying power of the community over several years will be the telling factor in determining whether or not bilingual education programs merely fade away due to the purposeful neglect of administrators who do not believe in them or in the people who ought to be served by those programs.

The effectiveness of community involvement as suggested here

may be clouded by the issue of community *control.* With little previous experience or political organization, control of the schools via the school committee or principalship ought not to be the first line of attack for the community which sees the need for change in the curriculum (20, pp. 3-4). The example of the Amish is very instructive in this regard. Community control and the eventual establishment of a completely separate and independent system of schooling were accomplished only after it became apparent that the public schools were placing requirements on the Amish which seriously threatened their cultural and religious integrity (8, p. 34 & 113 ff.)

Political disenfranchisement and the lack of experience in North-American politics can hinder the immigrant and migrant as well from attaining full participation in the political process which surrounds schooling in this country. The advantage of working on curriculum development is that — if the process is at least minimally accepted by the schools — there is a direct link established between the community and the classroom. Control may be exercised over curricular decisions that may at least temporarily put off the need to deal with political control via the school committee. The issue of control will return, however, at the moment the school system recognizes that change in the curriculum may require a reallocation of resources or realignment of priorities in the schools. At that moment, the community will have to assert its right to participate fully in making decisions that affect the future of its children.

An alternative to working in the system is to set up independent schools as the Amish have done, and as many groups have done through church or synagogue schools. The community members may be limited in experience and technical skills as well as resources. This may make it difficult for them to set realistic goals or to implement plans for independent schools. The example of the Amish, none of whom have more than eight years of schooling, suggests that this factor is not necessarily a limiting one. The Amish form committees, determine curriculum, hire and fire teachers, build the schools and assess tuition fees. Using both external criteria and those of the Amish themselves, it appears that these schools are remarkably successful (8, p. 95 and p. 105 ff).

Many of the factors previously outlined (noted above) such as high mobility and lack of intra-group cohesiveness mitigate against the establishment of independent schools. Our principal interest here is ultimately to determine ways in which ethnic/language minority groups that are now excluded can have a substantial role in curriculum improvement in the *public schools.* And of course the most difficult barrier to be overcome is the resistance of the system itself to

challenge from any quarter. That resistance is stiffened when the challenge comes from persons who are of a different ethnic and language background, and who contend that they will not allow their children to surrender their culture and their souls to some "inevitable" process of assimilation.

Framework for Evaluation

This study had provided preliminary data about community involvement in curriculum development in bilingual schools. It is from that data and the consideration of the barriers to effective community involvement that the interview guide (Appendix B) has evolved. That guide is intended to provide a model for focussing interviews with parents, teachers, program directors and others, and will elicit data which may then be analyzed to determine the extent and quality of community involvement.

Some of the indicators sought are: percent of potential parents who are active in a P.A.C., frequency of meetings, frequency of community participation in regular school activities, size of leadership group, etc.

Other indicators reveal the quality of community participation: What *kinds* of decisions does the P.A.C. make: Which decisions are of an "advisory" nature, and which are an exercise of direct authority? Is the P.A.C. provided with organizational and other resources as required by state bilingual education regulations? Is curriculum approval by community groups a routine gesture, or is there ongoing review during the process of curriculum development? What is the membership of the town curriculum committee? What does it do? Is there a role for community members in screening candidates for teacher and aide positions in the bilingual program? What is their role in the preparation of grant proposals and subsequent allocation of funds? Are parents involved in training teachers to be sensitive to and respond to the language and cultural background of the children?

It is understood that there may be different reasons for wishing to carry out an evaluation of community involvement, depending on the agency initiating the action. It is proposed here that the evaluation itself be a point of departure for *organizing* the community around issues of participation in the schools. Conducting the survey can lead to a critical awareness of the school situation and can suggest avenues for organization and participation.

A scholarly and thorough study of community involvement in a number of bilingual programs may be of passing academic interest. However, the application of this evaluation framework to a process of community organization and development may provide a basis

for further community action, and may substantially improve the implementation of bilingual education programs.

Appendix A

SCHOOLS AND COMMUNITIES VISITED IN CONNECTION WITH THIS PROJECT

1974 - 1975

Holyoke, Massachusetts	Morgan School
Hamden, Connecticut	Hamden-New Haven Cooperative Education Center
Lynn, Massachusetts	Washington Community School
Hartford, Connecticut	La Escuelita (Ann Street School) Bilingual/ Bicultural Curriculum Center
Framingham, Massachusetts	Multi-Community Language Center
Worcester, Massachusetts	Adams Street School
Springfield, Massachusetts	Chestnut Junior High School
Northampton, Massachusetts	Bridge Street School
New Bedford, Massachusetts	Bilingual Education Department
Ludlow, Massachusetts	East Street School

Appendix B

INTERVIEW GUIDE

Community involvement in curriculum development in bilingual schools

DATE: _____

I. DESCRIPTION OF SCHOOL/PROGRAM — Basic Data

Name: _____
Address: _____
_____
Telephone: _____

School Personnel interviewed:
_____
_____
_____

Name & title of principal, head teacher or director: _____

A. CHILDREN SERVED (Attach Massachusetts form c-4-74, TBE)

LANGUAGE/ETHNIC BACKGROUNDS AND GRADE LEVELS	NUMBERS

B. SCHOOL STAFF— BILINGUAL AND ESL

CATEGORIES OF PERSONNEL, LANGUAGE SKILLS & TRAINING	NUMBERS

C. PHYSICAL DESCRIPTION OF BUILDING, CLASSROOMS, MATERIALS OBSERVED, ETC.

II. PARENT/COMMUNITY INVOLVEMENT

A. Describe the composition of the Parent Advisory Council (PAC):

1. Describe the history of the PAC and continuity of leadership. How are members chosen or appointed?

2. How often has the PAC met in the last 12 months?

3. Where do meetings take place?

4. How many persons usually attend?

5. Describe the principal's view of the responsibilities of the PAC:

6. Describe the parents' views of the responsibilities of the PAC:

7. What is the budget for the PAC this year?

8. Describe how members of the PAC receive information re: meetings, school activities, bilingual program annual proposal, etc.:

B. Parent/community contact with the school

1. Describe several recent occasions when parents or other community members visited the school:

2. Check reasons for recent parent visits in addition to those described above:

Teach a unit in class as resource person	____	Conference with teacher-discipline problem	____
Open house	____	Conference with teacher-regular progress report	____
PTO/PTA meeting	____	Participate in in-service training for teachers/staff re: language and culture of children	____
Conference with principal re:			
discipline	____		
poor work	____		
health problems	____		
Participate in materials review	____		
PAC Meeting	____		
Advise teachers on cultural activity/ holiday	____		

3. Indicate paid or volunteer positions held by parents or other members of the bilingual community in this school/program:

Paid	Vol.	Position
____	____	Classroom aide

____	____	Teacher
____	____	Library assistant
____	____	Lunchroom monitors
____	____	Principal
____	____	Guide on field trips
____	____	Community coordinator
____	____	Program director
____	____	Advisor for extra-curricular activities
____	____	Chaperone for field trips/dances
____	____	OTHER: _____

C. COMMUNITY COORDINATOR

1. Is there a paid community coordinator for the program?
2. How would you describe her/his duties?
3. What is the source of funding for the position?
4. What restrictions or limitations are placed on organizing activities? Describe:
5. How is the community coordinator involved in the annual census as required by state law? Other parents?

III. THE CURRICULUM

A. Broadly state the curricular goals of the school or program:

B. Describe the specific ways in which this curriculum meets *local needs* in Language Arts, Math, Social Studies, Art, Science and Music; indicate how this differs from the curriculum of nearby all-Anglo classes or schools:

C. Describe the composition of the curriculum committee for this school/program, and the curriculum committees at elementary and secondary levels for this district:

D. Describe the origin and method by which a recent change in the curriculum was considered, adopted and implemented in this school/program:

E. Describe the ways in which local needs were assessed in order to adapt the curriculum for the bilingual community:

F. Who made the decisions to follow the procedures in "D" and "E" above?

IV. INSTRUCTIONAL MATERIALS

A. Are non-school personnel involved in the committee(s) which approve materials for this school (town)? Who are they? How are they selected?

B. How is the PAC involved in decisions regarding purchase of materials for the bilingual program?

C. Which individuals have been involved in a review of currently used or proposed materials to check for racial, ethnic, cultural or sex bias?

D. What impact did their recommendations have?

V. FUNDING

A. What are the sources of funds for bilingual education? Indicate amounts and/or percentages:

Town School Budget _____

TBE State re-imbursement _____

Title VII (or other Fed) _____

Other: _____ _____

B. Who determines the budget allocation for the PAC?

C. Describe community participation in the preparation of any grant:

Appendix C

BIBLIOGRAPHIC ESSAY[1]

The practical literature in the field of community involvement in curriculum development is limited; more sources were encountered which deal with the political struggles for "control" of the schools. Other useful sources may be found in the literature dealing with community development and community action theory (not included here). Alternative schools have generated a good deal of literature which may be of assistance to those highly motivated groups who already are organized and committed to alternative schools within the system or "free" schools outside of it.

Reports of federally-funded education projects are a rich source of at least superficial data regarding hundreds of bilingual programs across the country. Most reports are filed in the ERIC system, and one can assume at least a modicum of exaggeration on the part of proposal writers who are trying to substantiate refunding requests.

Two reports with exemplary community participation components and curricular goals aimed at meeting the needs of the local community were reviewed:

19) Northern Cheyenne Bilingual Program, "Lame Deer Project"

Because of its unique geographical and ethnic situation and the small number of students in K, 1 and 2, the Lame Deer Project is limited as a model for larger urban bilingual programs. Key elements in the project encourage Native American parents and tribal elders to participate in every phase of the schools. A community coordinator is funded to organize and communicate with the community. The advisory committees hold periodic reviews of the progress of the program and the curriculum. A Cultural Advisory Board had the complete authority to make all decisions regarding what elements of the authentic Native American culture are to be included in the curriculum. The report includes a candid description of some of the difficulties of maintaining community momentum in the face of staff and community leadership changes.

[1] Full citations for these works found under the corresponding number in the bibliography for this article. (*eds.*).

5) Garfield Education Complex, "Summary of three years . . . "

This report of a Title III project gives an indication of community participation from the perspective of a mini-school district in East Los Angeles, California. There was an experimental grouping of four elementary schools, one junior high and one high school into an "educational complex" with Parent Advisory Boards at each school. The project included a bilingual component, and the parents had direct control over a mini-grant fund to be used at their discretion.

6) Gonzalez, Sylvia, *A process for examining cultural relevancy . . .*

For a generalizable approach to cultural relevancy, Sylvia Gonzalez' doctoral dissertation provides an alternative to the "social pathology model" of viewing cultural differences. Gonzalez' work provides the basis for *any* community to do its own description which may then result in ethnic/language parameters for inclusion in the curriculum of that community.

8) Hostetler & Huntington, *Children in Amish Society*

An isolated community with recent experience with separate, community-controlled schools is treated thoroughly and sensitively in this book. The chapters on the Amish elementary schools and the teachers in them give clear indications of just how community-specific instruction can be. Of course the legal/political battles of the Amish are outstanding examples of public schooling versus the people. A brief treatment of these issues is included. This is a useful and insightful book.

9) Council on Interracial Books for Children, *BULLETIN*

The Council devoted two issues of its *Bulletin* to special issues on Puerto Rican Materials and Chicano Materials. These issues contain articles not only on textbook evaluation and reviews of bias in books for children, but also news of community involvement: "Chicano community presses for better library service," "New study confirms educational slaughter of Puerto Rican children." Also of interest are articles from the perspective of Hispanic women, and source information on periodicals and distributors of materials. The "Checklist for evaluating Chicano material," (Vol. 5), could be a useful guide for any community evaluating the materials provided for the instruction of their children, and might be used in conjunction with the process suggested by Gonzalez (supra.).

12) Lurie, Ellen, *How to change the schools*

To get right to the *action* there is no better source than this book! Lurie's experience in the community-control fights in New York give a big-city focus to the entire book, but there is much useful information for any group of parents. As a manual for parents, the 293 pages may be too much for groups with limited literacy skills, but a community organizer armed with a copy of this handbook would make a formidable foe for any school administration. You won't find a conciliatory tone here. Political confrontation is urged where necessary. Turn to Chapter Two and read about, "The stuff kids learn," and "What is wrong with the curriculum."

13) Macías, Reynaldo F., "Opinions of Chicano community parents . . . "

In order to find out what the community really thinks of the schools,

Macias conducted some surveys of parents. They had strong — and sometimes surprising — opinions regarding the instructional content. Macias' allusion to the implications of methodology in terms of cultural content and style speaks directly to some of the concerns of this paper in viewing the curriculum more broadly than the mere stated units of instruction. The journal in which this article appeared, *Aztlan*, is consistent in presenting excellent articles in all fields of Chicano studies research.

17) National Study of School Evaluation, *Evaluation Guidelines for Multicultural/Multiracial Education*

Once a parent group decides to take a close look at the schools, they will be greatly assisted by the exhaustive evaluation format set forth by the NSSE. This booklet is designed primarily for secondary schools, but may be of assistance for other levels. Included are teacher and student "opinionnaires", and probing questions into all phases of schooling and instruction which are intended to reveal the extent of commitment to and activity in the specific realms of multicultural/multiracial education.

26) United Bronx Parents, "How parents can evaluate and improve their child's school books"

The UBP distributes this guide (25 cents), and also markets Ellen Lurie's book ($2.25). Note address in bibliography. Action-oriented community groups such as the UBP may provide parents concerned with bilingual education with some immediately useful ammunition and strategies while academic studies continue to rest heavily on library shelves.

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Reading, Meaning, and the Bilingual Student: Some Suggestions

Richard L. Allington

Text in alphabetic orthographies provides two general sets of cues to the reader; grapho-phonic and semantic-syntactic. The skilled reader makes sensible use of both sets. The less skilled reader however, typically overutilizes the graphophonic cues and underutilizes semantic-syntactic information (Smith, 1975). This produces reading errors, or miscues of two general types. First, visual matching errors in which the response has a *high degree* of *graphic* similarity (e.g., *went* for *want*; *come* for *came*). Second, are responses which reflect *some degree* of *phonic* similarity (e.g., *callum* for *calm; hō-nest* for *honest*). Both of these response types reflect underutilization of semantic-syntactic cues and result in loss of meaning (Clay, 1972).

There is another type of reading miscue, one which is characteristic of good readers. The reader here is responding to the language cues. For instance, consider the following sentence: *The bus stopped and Joe got out.* The reader who responds to *out* with *off* is simply reflecting use of semantic-syntactic cues and no meaning is lost.

Most traditional remedial procedures focus more extensively on graphophonic cues than on semantic-syntactic cues. That is, visual similarity errors are treated as indicating the reader is not looking carefully enough at the symbols (Allington, in press), rather than indicating an underutilization of semantic-syntactic information. Similarly, responses reflecting phonic similarity are often interpreted as indicating a need for further drill on phoneme-grapheme cor-

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respondences rather than a focus on the utilization of semantic-syntactic information. However, most visual similarity responses would not occur if the reader were attending to meaning. For example, *The man want to the store* does not make sense, and only poor readers would let this violation of semantic-syntactic information go uncorrected. Most phonic similarity responses also violate these semantic-syntactic cues since the response does not represent a real word.

This is not to suggest that good readers do not utilize grapho-phonic information. It is suggested rather, that they employ these in balanced combination with semantic-syntactic information. For instance, our recent research has shown that good readers are much more likely to respond correctly to an item such as: *John went down to the b* ————. than poor readers. By responding correctly I mean utilizing any word which fits the sentence and grapheme cue (e.g., *beach, bench, bar, bootery*, etc.). Additionally, as we provide more grapho-phonic information (br ————, bri ————, brid ————, bridg ——, etc.) the good reader focuses in on the exact word. The poor readers, on the other hand, are much more likely to respond with a word beginning with the correct grapheme but which does not fit the semantic-syntactic constraints (e.g., *bring, by, but*, etc.). Further, the poor reader is more prone to producing only nonsensical phoneme sequences (*buh, bruh*) and "I don't know" responses. Basically, good readers seem to have developed a strategy which integrates the use of grapho-phonic and semantic-syntactic cues while the poor reader overutilizes the grapho-phonic cues. Unfortunately, much of the remedial teaching one encounters seems to be developing an even greater reliance upon the visual and phonic aspects of reading.

Now to consider the language different child in this context. It has been argued that when reading languages which have a higher level of phoneme-grapheme correspondence (e.g., Spanish, German, etc.) the use of grapho-phonic cues is more important. However, both Lopez (1977) and Dickes and Steiwer (1976) demonstrate that when native speakers read these languages, they have response patterns very similar to English speakers reading English language texts. That is, good readers' responses reflect attention to meaning, or semantic-syntactic cues, while poor readers produce visual or phonic similarity responses. It seems then that we have discovered a reading universal. Good readers attend to meaning while poor readers attend to print and sounds (Clay, 1976).

This becomes important when we consider the bilingual child learning to read in the second language (Rigg, 1977). Since reading is a language process, the reader needs to have developed adequate second language abilities. Unfortunately, we have no good criterion

for establishing the optimal second language proficiency level for beginning reading. However, several guidelines can be usefully employed. First, one need not be overly concerned with phonological interference transferred from one language to another. Factor such as the Spanish speakers difficulty with the "short *i*" sound in English (e.g., *hit*), or the German speaker's pronunciation of final *ch* digraphs are not of major significance. Dialect variations occur among native English speakers; yet even though I may pronounce *creek* as *crick* I still am aware that it is a body of running water. Second, at the beginning stages especially, materials reflecting the reader's level of language performance seem most appropriate; language experience stories are especially useful. Third, when a reader comes to an unknown word, see if a native language word can be supplied which fits the context. In other words, if the reader does not have the word in his speaking vocabulary, the recognition task is impossible. Asking for a native language response can indicate whether the reader is accessing the meaning. For instance, if the Spanish bilingual reads aloud all but the last word in the sentence *Joe has new shoes*, but can supply *zapato*, he has received the message. Here one can also see the difficulty with overutilization of grapho-phonic cues, since employing common phonic generalizations will not result in the correct pronunciation of *shoes* (c.f., *toes*). If the reader does not have access to the word in oral language, then it should be developed, but not in the middle of an oral reading performance! Finally, it is wise to limit oral reading and attempt instead to develop silent reading abilities. Silent reading is the ultimate goal of all reading instruction and well-developed questions can easily determine whether comprehension has been elicited. Retelling is a technique which also helps develop oral language abilities while providing useful insights into the reading processes. The reader is simply asked to restate, or retell, what was read. The teacher can take the response and from it develop probing questions to clarify responses.

Summary

Good and poor readers in any language can be differentiated by their responses to text. Good readers produce meaningful responses and poor readers produce visual or phonic similarity responses. Much remedial teaching seems to increase dependence on visual and phonic information rather than developing the ability to make sense. It is suggested that reading instruction focus on meaning and be more concerned with developing silent reading abilities.

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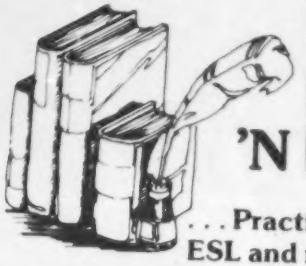

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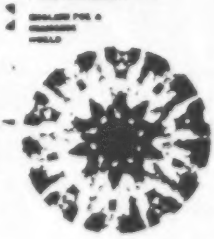

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